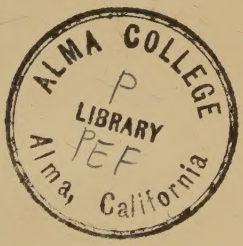
Palestine exploration quarterly

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

Patron—THE KING.

Quarterly Statement

FOR 1919.



LONDON:
PUBLISHED AT THE FUND'S OFFICE,
2, HINDE STREET, MANCHESTER SQUARE, W.

15658

1919-
20

HARRISON AND SONS,
PRINTERS IN ORDINARY TO HIS MAJESTY,
ST. MARTIN'S LANE.

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THE

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

NOTES AND NEWS.

The Committee feel justified in hoping that before long exploration in Palestine may again be practicable. There is little doubt that the country itself is beginning to settle down into more normal conditions; although, of course, the presence of troops in the country in itself constitutes an unusual state of things, both socially and economically. On the other hand transit, both by sea and land, will as yet present difficulties for some little time. Another difficulty which at present faces the Committee is the fact that many of its most valuable workers are not yet released from their various military duties. The Committee will make every effort to get over these difficulties with as little delay as may be possible, and in the meantime are carefully setting aside such funds as accrue so as to be able to start work at the first opportunity.

The successful and splendid finale to the Palestinian Campaign was the occasion for numerous articles in the Press upon the "Cockpit of Asia," on the military history of Palestine, and on important towns and ports. Some of these were richly illustrated—articles on Damascus in particular—and, in the nature of the case, attention was drawn to the lengthy history of Damascus—"from Eliezer to Enver," as one paper alliteratively put it. Special references to the final victory was made in the places of worship, and on Monday October 28th, a great Thanksgiving Meeting for the deliverance of the Holy Land was held in the Queen's Hall under the presidency

of Viscount Bryce, O.M. Accounts were given by Sir Henry McMahon, Bishop MacInnes, and others, of the work of the Syria and Palestine Relief Fund.

New fields for archaeological work have now been opened by the victories of the Allied troops, and an interview with Prof. Flinders Petrie, in the *Observer*, October 6th, draws the attention of the wider public to some of the possibilities. "This work," said Prof. Petrie, "can only be done by the presence of trained archaeologists who can distinguish the various places most likely to be of importance. This visitation should be begun this very day, if possible, because it is perfectly certain that private rights in Palestine and Mesopotamia will arise like mushrooms. I have seen it in Egypt and know what it means. What is required is a civilian staff for the management of the whole question of antiquities, and this staff ought to be under a board of skilled authorities—preferably, for Palestine, Jewish archaeologists.

"The right lines of administration are excellently laid down in the late Sir Stanley Maude's proclamation in Mesopotamia, by which:—

1. The rights of the Ottoman Government in all antiquities are transferred to the new administration.

2. Antiquities mean everything before A.D. 1500.

3. Information of discovery of antiquities must be given within thirty days, under penalty.

4. Anyone appropriating things discovered may be fined up to ten times the value.

5. Any negligent or malicious damage of any kind may be heavily fined.

6. No traffic in antiquities is allowed without licence, under heavy fine.

7. All forgery, or sale of forgeries, is liable to heavy fine and confiscation of stock.

8. On reporting discoveries, the owner shall be duly compensated for the value if the objects are taken; if not required by the Administration, a certificate will be given that it may be sold.

9. The Chief Political Officer is the authority for this Administration."

"The Palestine Exploration Fund and the British Academy have formed a joint committee for a British School of Archaeology in

Palestine, and this should be the national basis for public interest in the question ; it may well form an intermediary for Governmental action, if the Government would only give them power to go ahead."

"As regards Jerusalem," said Prof. Petrie, "by far the most satisfactory thing would be to establish a new business town a mile or two out and gradually clear the historic city. Thus the whole of the mediaeval Jerusalem could be removed in the future, and the Jewish condition of the town brought to light and restored. This, of course, would not interfere with any of the historic buildings which have been erected since the Jewish time.

"The whole of Jerusalem is only a quarter of a square mile, and the city is totally unfit for a business city. It has a bad access and bad water, and is soaked with sewage. The first thing to be done is to get it as clear as we can of human habitation, and preserve it as a sanctuary for the three faiths—Jewish, Christian, and Moslem."

However, the reproach that Jerusalem has bad water has now been wiped away, and it is with particular pleasure that we have to direct attention to a very valuable report in the current issue, on which Mr. Crace makes the following introductory comment:—

"The victory of General Sir Edmund Allenby will go down in history as, not only the result of one of the most brilliant campaigns of this or any time and the most complete in its results, but as marked by its immediate benefit to the inhabitants of the country in which it was carried out. It was followed, in addition to the freedom of the population from the tyranny of the Turk, by prompt and careful assistance to a people which great oppression had brought to the verge of starvation.

"Among the benefits conferred on the inhabitants of Jerusalem itself, none is more conspicuous, almost dramatic, in its completeness and results than the rapidity with which its great want—the want of centuries, and lately ever increasing—a good supply of pure water has been brought into the city. This work, so often talked of in the past and never performed, has been actually carried out by the Royal Engineers attached to Sir Edmund Allenby's force with amazing rapidity, the work itself occupying but three months. Perhaps no incident of this brilliant campaign will remain so firmly fixed in the history of Jerusalem.

"A copy of the official report of the Royal Engineers has been forwarded to us, and this, by permission of the War Office, we print in the present *Quarterly Statement*, believing, as we do, that it will be of great interest to many of our subscribers, and will place on record available to the public the details of the execution of a work at once creditable to our army and of immense benefit to the Holy City.

"The Report itself is illustrated by a large number of excellent photographs. Our available space does not enable us to reproduce more than a few of these, but these will, to some extent, serve to explain the text."

An article on the Water Supply of Jerusalem is also contributed by Dr. Masterman to the *Zionist Review*, to which we hope to refer in the next issue.

Mr., now Colonel, T. E. Lawrence, who shared with Mr. C. Leonard Woolley in the Archaeological Report of the Wilderness of Zin, issued by the P.E.F. in 1915, has played a prominent part in the recent campaign in Palestine. The *Near East* for September says:—"Not the least noticeable feature of General Allenby's brilliant strategy was the accurately timed cutting of the Hejaz Railway at Deraa. From a French contemporary it is now learned that the Arab force to which this task was allotted, comprising Bedouin and Druzes, was under the command of Colonel T. E. Lawrence, an officer whose peculiar qualifications for his present work were, earlier in the war, in danger of being lost sight of in Whitehall routine."

In the *Daily Express* for October 1st, a racy account is given of "How Colonel Lawrence studied the Turk," and a contemporary issue of the *Daily Mail* had a description of "Little Lawrence, by One who knows Him," from which we may quote the following:—"In connection with General Allenby's triumph," wrote M. Marcel Hutin recently, "the name of Colonel T. E. Lawrence will become legendary." And he went on to relate how this youthful British officer had been the medium of getting the desert Arabs to help in no small measure towards the undoing of the Turk. Colonel Lawrence, it further appears, "carried his life in his hands during his exploits." The Turks put a high price on his head. Before the War

Lawrence was up at the 'Varsity and studying archaeology on the spot in Palestine, one of his sworn companions in his quest for knowledge being a young German who carried on precisely similar work for the enemy to that which "Little Lawrence" did for us, which work broadly consisted in making life quite unbearable for the Turk along a goodly stretch of the vast Aleppo-Medina railway.

As regards the state of Palestine, Dr. McInnes, the Bishop in Jerusalem, draws a distinction between the villages and the towns. In the *Westminster Gazette*, October 25th, he says:—"Speaking generally the country districts have suffered comparatively little except that they have lost a good number of men for tilling the ground. These were taken by the Turks for their army. A few villages have come within the zone of fire and been badly damaged. The biggest town that has suffered material destruction is Gaza, which is a complete ruin. The stones remain, but even before the bombardment the Turks took out all the wood-work from the buildings in order to procure fuel for their locomotives, timber for the trenches, and for other war purposes—so that the place was in a very bad state. Then came the bombardment, in which it suffered much further damage. My first sight of Gaza reminded me of Pompeii. I suppose that Ypres would afford another example of what has befallen the ancient town.

"Cases of distress have been very bad in Jericho, Jaffa, and, I presume, Damascus—if a quarter of the reports received are true. We shall find the same thing in all the big towns of Palestine. The country districts have not suffered so badly, because the inhabitants have tilled the ground and lived on the land, whereas the townsman has depended on transport for his necessaries. Whilst the Turks were in possession, wage-earning in the towns has proved impossible. In Jerusalem distress has been most acute—far more than appeared to the eye. Commercial interests were entirely destroyed at the beginning of the war. Numbers of people formerly in good circumstances are now literally reduced to want."

In the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 1918, Vol. IX, p. 224 *seq.*, Henrietta Szold reviews the late Colonel Watson's *The Story o*

Jerusalem. She says: "... To lay bare the inner spirit of the Holy City the writer must indeed know the whole of history; but, for the purpose in hand, he need only pursue one strand. Colonel Watson has performed his task, so far as Christian Jerusalem is concerned, if not with genius, at least with industry and satisfying brevity and selective taste. In respect to the structure of the city, his book achieves notable success... His directness is re-inforced by a clear outline map of Jerusalem (happily so bound into the book that it may be kept spread out as one reads from the first page to the last). The result is a literary visit to ancient, mediaeval and modern Jerusalem that borrows vividness from reality itself. Whether the hypothesis (p. 22) is correct or not, it is clarifying to work with it. It affords the casual reader a starting point which he should not fail to keep in mind when he is lucky enough to view the Holy City with his bodily eyes... From the Christian point of view he has performed his historic task as satisfactorily as his topographic task. He observes due proportion in the presentation of his wealth of material, and conveys the spirit of mediaevalism without offensive glorification of the section he is most interested in. A word of special commendation is owing to him for the enlightening use of the Pilgrims' pious chronicles. The illustrations are effective and pleasing."

The advertisement of the book will be found below, on another page.

Canon Livett, Wateringbury Vicarage, Maidstone, would be glad to hear of a copy of the Jerusalem Volume and portfolio of photographs of the Survey of Western Palestine, for sale.

Mr. Joseph Offord sends us the following note upon the late Father Durand: "A striking personality, well known to visitors and residents in Palestine, has passed away by the decease of the Rev. Père Joseph Gernier Durand. He was a member of the Jerusalem Confraternity of the Assumptionist Monks, and devoted his career to the study of Palestine Archaeology. It was at Jerusalem that he passed the happiest and most fruitful years of his life, assisting in excavations and explorations in Palestine and Syria, in founding and filling a museum of antiquities, and lecturing at the 'École Biblique.' Whilst always a *réligieux*, and utilising his studies and journeys first for illustrating the contents of the Bible,

he was ever ready to publish for the benefit of the sciences of history and art the results of discoveries he made and conclusions he achieved.

"He especially took up the study of the Roman roads and communications, and all finds of Greek and Latin inscriptions, and was a correspondent of the French Academy. His researches have been of so much value, that twenty years ago he was elected a member of the 'Société des Antiquaires de France," and, in 1902, was awarded their gold medal.

"He has not been permitted to return to the land and people he loved so well and see the results of their being freed from Turkish tyranny, but his life-work (he was born in 1845) was fully accomplished, and will be remembered for many years to come."

The *Times* of October 10th printed an interesting communication on the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem, by the Rev. Philip Waggett, of the Society of St. John the Evangelist. In the course of it he says: "In the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem, a wall has been recently removed which shut off the choir and principal apse from the nave, and the structure is now seen from the nave for the first time in living memory. This wall was a modern erection, bearing the date 1842, as agreed upon by both Greeks and Latins. It was about twenty feet high, and its purpose was to shut off the east end of the church for worship at a time when the nave was used by the populace as a market. The best students are agreed that neither history nor ritual were interested in the preservation of the wall. Roman Catholic scholars have regarded the wall as a modern and unnecessary blemish. But it was no aesthetic motive which determined the action taken. What turned the scale was the conviction that the modern wall represented a need of protection which has disappeared under modern conditions. When, therefore, the Greeks proposed, and the other religious authorities in Jerusalem and Bethlehem approved the demolition, the work was carried out under the orders of the Government, by whom the materials are being carefully preserved. The change which permits the great Church to be rightly viewed for the first time in living memory opens afresh questions of its structure and history, a history beginning with the work of Helena and Constantine. As soon as new photographs reach England, some of these questions

will be examined with the assistance of architects on the spot, and of the great work of research last named."

The P.E.F. hopes to be able to print, in the next issue, an illustrated article on the above subject by Father Waggett.

Father Waggett has some valuable articles in the *Manchester Guardian* (November 25th to 27th) on the New Palestine. They are entitled: "Agriculture the Key to its Prosperity"; "Benefits Wrought by the Occupation"; and "Setting the Law on its Feet."

Miss Sophie Nichols, M.A., F.R.G.S., has been appointed a lecturer for the P.E.F.

In 1876 the Society published a volume of Photographs of Biblical Sites, by Lieut. H. H. Kitchener, R.E., F.R.G.S., containing twelve photographs taken by Lord Kitchener during the time he was at work on the Survey of Western Palestine, together with a short description of each written by himself. Some of the views taken are no longer obtainable, as new buildings have sprung up everywhere, altering or marring old sites. The descriptions, though so short, are charmingly written, and show what a strong feeling Lord Kitchener had for the Holy Land. He took the keenest interest and pleasure in the preparation of this, his only book, as his letters show, though the actual publication of it was left in Sir Walter Besant's hands, as Lord Kitchener returned to Palestine before it was in proof. There are about forty copies of this book still unsold, and these can be had on application to the office of the Society, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W., at the original price of one guinea, postage extra.

Fifty Years' Work in the Holy Land: A Record and a Summary, 1865–1915.—Under this title the late Colonel Sir C. M. Watson, K.C.M.G., etc., gave an entirely new revision of that *résumé* of the work of the Fund which has been issued from time to time in order to furnish readers, and—especially—new subscribers with a synoptical account of the more important aims and achievements. Such accounts have been published in 1870, 1872, 1886, and 1895, so that twenty years have passed since the last revision—years during which

most valuable excavations have been undertaken, notably at Gezer. The year 1915 being the Jubilee of the Palestine Exploration Fund a new edition was especially appropriate, and old subscribers as well as new will find that the book by the late Chairman of the Executive Committee gives an admirable bird's-eye view of the work of the Fund. Although space allows the book to provide only the bare outlines of what has been done, the material is so arranged as to include all information necessary to explain the different expeditions and excavations. A map is also appended containing all the important names and sites. Chapters are written on the reason why the P.E.F. was established; the foundation of the Society in 1865; the preliminary reconnaissance of Palestine, 1865–6; the explorations at Jerusalem, 1867–70; the expedition to the Desert of the Exodus, 1869–70; the survey of Western Palestine in 1871–7; the survey of Eastern Palestine in 1881–2; the geological expedition and survey of the Arabah in 1883–4; the excavations at Lachish, Jerusalem, etc. (five chapters), the survey of Southern Palestine in 1913–14; the Palestine Pilgrims' Texts, and a concluding chapter on the administration of the Society. There are two appendices: the chronology of the P.E.F., and the chronology of the publications. The book is published by the Committee of the Fund, and can be had on application to the Assistant Secretary, post free 3*s.* 6*d.*

The Committee have brought out a new edition of the ($\frac{3}{8}$ in. to the mile) Map of Western Palestine, of which the original edition has been for some time out of print. It is in two large sheets, and will be, primarily, a travellers' map. The roads and railways constructed since the original survey have been added. For the sake of clearness, only the modern names are given. The hill shading is in a lighter tint for the same reason. All the country beyond that actually surveyed is shown in outline only. In a few years it may be possible to add much of this in a further edition. In the meantime, this is the clearest map and the easiest to consult of any yet issued by the Society. The price of the complete map is 7*s.* 6*d.* If desired, the map can be mounted on linen to fold, or on rollers, 15*s.* Subscribers' price, 12*s.* 6*d.* Postage extra.

The Library of the Palestine Exploration Fund contains many duplicate volumes, including standard works by Robinson, Ritter,

Stanley and others. They may be had separately, and with a list, the price of each volume, has been prepared, and can be obtained on application.

Recent additions to the Library, by purchase, include:—

Eastern Exploration, Past and Present, by Prof. Flinders Petrie.

Journey through Arabia Petraea to Mount Sinai and the excavated city of Petra, the Edom of the Prophecies, from the French of M. Léon de Laborde. (Murray, London. 1836.)

Hadriani Relandi Palaestina ex Monumentis veteribus Illustrata Trajecti Batavorum, ex libraria Guilielmi Broedelet. MDCCXIV.

Palaestina ex Monumentis veteribus Illustratae; Liber Primus, In quo de Palaestinae Nominibus, Situ, Terminis, Partitione, Aquis, Montibus, et Campio Agitur; Liber Secundus, In quo agitur de Intervallis Locorum Palestinae. (The two volumes bound in one: maps and illustrations.)

Samuelis Bocharti Geographia Sacra cujus pars prior Phaleg de Dispersione Gentium & terrarum; pars posterior Chanaan de Coloniis & sermone Phoenicien. MDCLXXIV.

A Primer of Hebrew Antiquities (1895), by the Rev. O. C. Whitehouse.

The Bible and Babylon (1905), by Ed. König.

The Hittites (1910), by Prof. A. H. Sayce.

The list of books received will be found below, pp. 12, 13.

The Index to the *Quarterly Statements* previously published included the years from 1869 to 1892, and the need for its continuation to a more recent date has been greatly felt. During the year 1911, the Committee decided to supplement the old Index by one which should include the completion of the work at Gezer, that is to say, from 1893 to 1910. The laborious task was undertaken by Mr. (now Prof.) Dickie, whose familiarity with the matter dealt with, and conscientious exactitude, have now enabled the Committee to publish it with confidence. Price in cloth, 5*s.*; unbound, 3*s.* 6*d.*

The Committee will be glad to communicate with ladies and gentlemen willing to help the Fund as Honorary Local Secretaries.

Plaster casts of the raised contour maps (large and small) of Jerusalem have been prepared and can now be had on application. The horizontal scale of the large map is $\frac{1}{2500}$ and the total dimensions are 5 feet by 4 feet 3 inches. The remains of the city walls and streets discovered on the Eastern and Western Hills are indicated in red lines. This map will be a most valuable help to the study of Jerusalem topography. Price £3 3*s*. Case and packing extra. The scale of the smaller map is $\frac{1}{10000}$ and the size 20 inches square. Price without addition of early walls and streets £1 5*s*.

It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but they are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers.

Subscribers who have not yet paid will greatly facilitate the Committee's efforts by sending in their subscriptions without further delay, and thus save the expense of sending out reminders.

Subscribers to the Fund are reminded that, whilst the receipt of every subscription and contribution is promptly acknowledged by the Assistant Secretary, they are now published annually. A complete List of Subscribers and Subscriptions for 1917 is published in the Annual Report.

Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre, the last work of the late Major-General Sir Charles Wilson, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., F.R.S., D.C.L., LL.D., etc. In this work our former Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund has brought together for the first time all the evidence which the most exhaustive research enabled him to collect bearing on the subject of these Holy Sites; and probably no man living had at once so intimate a knowledge of all investigations in the modern Jerusalem and so complete an acquaintance with what has been written about the Sites from the time of Constantine onwards. The price of the work (demy 8vo) is 6*s*., by post 6*s*. 4*d*.

A reprint of *Names and Places in the Old and New Testaments*, by the late Mr. George Armstrong, is now on sale, price 6*s*. The book was out of print for some years.

A complete set of the *Quarterly Statements*, 1869–1910, containing some of the early letters (now scarce), with an Index, 1869–1910, bound in the Palestine Exploration Fund cases, can be had. Price on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.

The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index, bound in cloth, is £10 10*s*. A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.

The Museum at the office of the Fund, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W., is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 4, except Saturdays, when it is closed at 1 p.m.

Subscribers in U.S.A. to the work of the Fund will please note that they can procure copies of any of the publications from the Rev. Prof. Lewis B. Paton, Ph.D., Honorary General Secretary to the Fund, 50, Forest Street, Hartford, Conn.

The Committee have to acknowledge with thanks, among other journals and books, the following :—

Studies, Sept. 1918 : The National Problem in Arabia," by Dr. E. Power.

The Expository Times.

The Zionist Review.

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Jan.–June, 1918.

Scottish Geographical Magazine, Oct., 1918, N. Palestine and the Lebanon Region, by M. H. Braid.

A Guide-book to Central Palestine, Samaria, and S. Galilee (Palestine Pocket Guide-books, Vol. II), presented by the Military Editor, Colonel Pirie-Gordon.

The American Journal of Archaeology, 1918, 3.

Art and Archaeology, Aug., Oct., 1918.

The Homiletic Review, Nov. 1918.

The Biblical World, Sept., 1918.

Jewish Quarterly Review, IX, 1-2 : Review of Books on Palestine, by Henrietta Szold.

Journal of the American Oriental Society, June, 1918.

Journal Asiatique, March–April, 1916.

The Committee will be glad to receive donations of Books to the Library of the Fund, which already contains many works of great value relating to Palestine and other Bible lands.

The Committee desire to acknowledge with thanks the following contributions to the Library :—

From Walter Morrison, Esq. :—
Modern Sons of the Pharaohs.

From Joseph Offord, Esq. :—
École Pratique des Hautes Études ; Annuaires, 1910–1917.

The Committee will be grateful to any subscribers who may be disposed to present to the Library any of the following books :—

Duc de Luynes, *Voyage à la Mer Morte* (1864) ; published about 1874.

K. von Raumer, *Der Zug der Israeliten.* (Leipzig, 1837.)

Lagarde, *Onomastica Sacra* (1887).

The Antonine Itinerary—an edition by Parthey and Pindar was published in 1847 at Berlin. An edition in Russian is also extant, but is therefore not available save to the few who know that language.

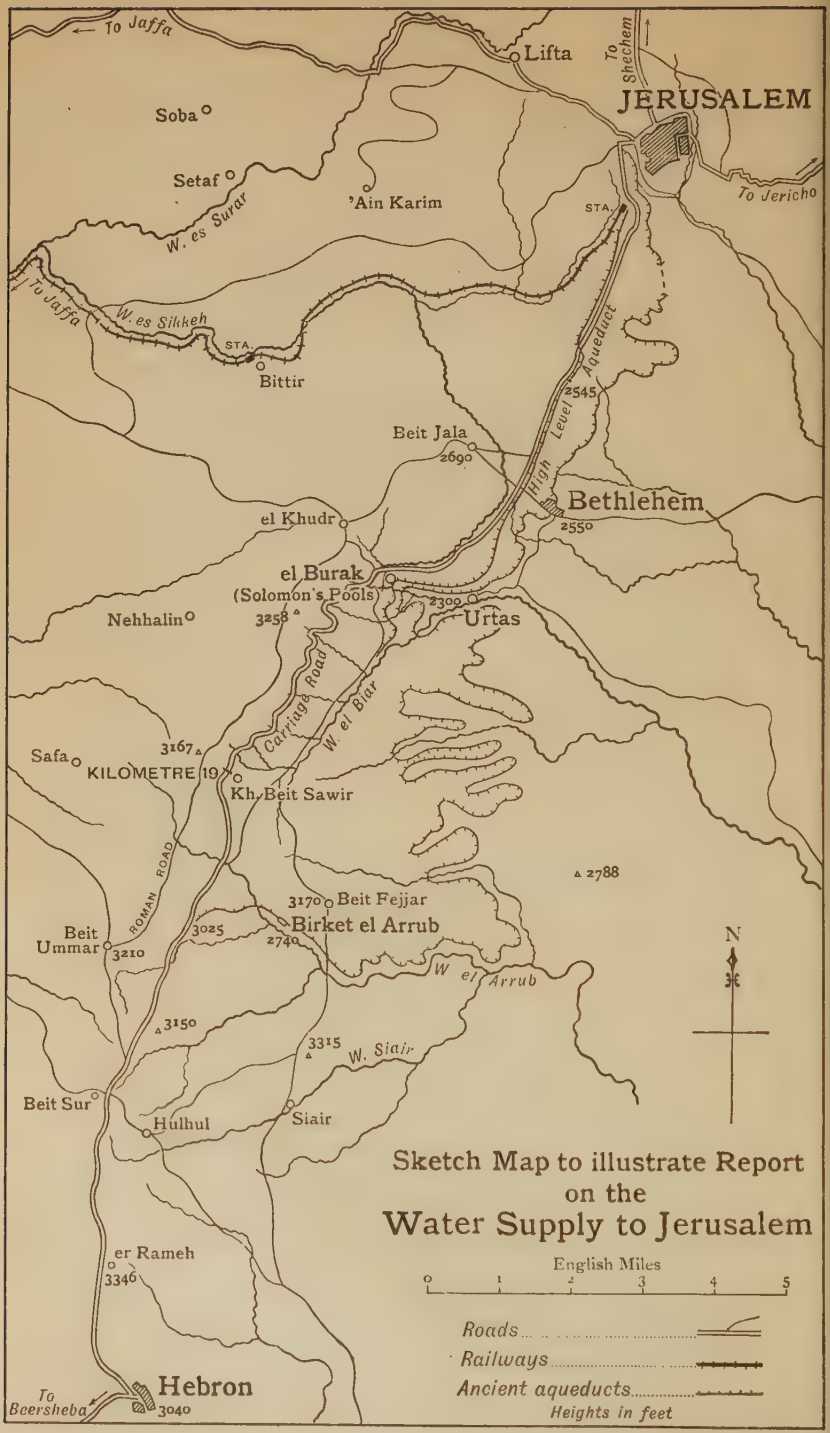
For list of authorized lecturers and their subjects, kindly write to the Secretary.

Whilst desiring to give publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they do not necessarily sanction or adopt them.

Form of Bequest to the Palestine Exploration Fund.

I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund ; and I direct that the said sum be paid, free of Legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge for the same.

Note.—*Three Witnesses are necessary to a Will by the Law of the United States of America, and Two by the Law of the United Kingdom.*



Emery Walker Ltd. sc.

NOTES ON JERUSALEM WATER SUPPLY.

THE low level aqueduct and pipe line from springs near Solomon's Pools was the only outside source of water supply to Jerusalem from the time when the Herodian System fell into disuse till the 15th June, 1918. The completion of this partial restoration of the ancient system was commemorated by a thanksgiving ceremony on the Sultan's birthday, 27th November, 1901 (*Quarterly Statement*, 1902, p. 3). The quite inadequate addition to cistern storage and the Bir Eyub supplies which formerly supported the city, was hailed on that day as a great benefaction following upon many centuries of criminal neglect. Subsequent schemes for extending the system were proposed, but none of them had materialised up to December, 1917, when the British Army entered Jerusalem. Within little more than six months from that date, and only two months after the commencement of the work, the city experienced the first blessings of sweet water in abundance. The story of this remarkable work is here told in a technical report, which it has been thought advisable to publish in full. It puts on record the latest service to Jerusalem of the Royal Engineers, whose close connection with the Holy Land has lasted through peace and war for over half a century.

Plan Ref. No.

(1) *Existing Supply on British Occupation.*—On the occupation of JERUSALEM by the British Forces in December of 1917, the Water Supply consisted of:—

(*a*) Water conserved from the previous year's rains in underground cisterns. A1/3

(*b*) A small aqueduct and pipe line from POOLS OF SOLOMON and URTAS, delivering water to JERUSALEM *via* BETHLEHEM.

(2) *Capacity and Quality of these Sources of Supply.*—There is estimated to be a total storage capacity in cisterns in JERUSALEM of 360,000,000 gallons, ranging from those of several million gallons capacity under the Mosque of Omar, to the small domestic cistern to be found under or near every house.

Plan Ref. No.

Owing to neglect in repairs and cleaning, most of those cisterns were either empty, or the water was quite unfit for drinking. They were mostly unprotected from mosquito breeding, and were thus a serious menace to health.

The POOLS OF SOLOMON—JERUSALEM piped supply had been maintained by the Turks, and delivery from the various springs an estimated total of 80,000 gallons per day, *i.e.*, 40,000 gallons drawn at BETHLEHEM and 40,000 gallons delivered at JERUSALEM. At the JERUSALEM end water was supplied to :—

(*a*) BIRKET EL-SULTAN, an artificially dammed storage of foul water.

(*b*) To the cistern storage in the HARAM ARIA (Mosque of Omar), which was comparatively clean.

The supply itself was pure, being drawn direct from the springs.

(3) *Reasons for Providing the New Supply.*—After the British Occupation, the Army consumed the whole of the piped supply for drinking water for the troops, and large quantities of the cistern storage for animals. The civilian population was watered entirely from cistern water of doubtful quality, and the reserves, which would otherwise have been accumulating, were getting rapidly depleted.

It was therefore evident that immediate steps had to be taken to ensure against a serious shortage during the Summer months.

The Chief Engineer, whose area included JERUSALEM, instructed his Field Engineers early in January to make immediate investigations for a new supply.

(4) *Preliminary Investigation for New Supply.*—The probable sources to be tapped were well known, as under the Turkish régime, scheme after scheme had been got out, only to die a natural death when it reached the stage of actual construction. A1/46

From North, East and West available supplies were ruled out owing to levels and the enormous pumping schemes consequently involved.

[*To face p.* 16.

UNCOVERING ANCIENT AQUEDUCT.

SCREWING PARTY. K. 11½.

Plan Ref. No.

From the South the nearest supplies were already tapped, viz.:—those at SOLOMON'S POOLS, and the next supply of any magnitude was situated in the WADI ARRUB, on the JERUSALEM—HEBRON Road, 22 kilometres from JERUSALEM.

In the WADI ARRUB water flowed from several what appeared to be spring heads, and ran down the valley in an open stream, the water being used principally to irrigate small patches of cultivation.

On investigation these so-called spring heads were found to be fed from a system of ancient underground aqueducts, dating back to before the Christian Era; the system finally leading to an ancient reservoir or Birket lower down the valley, 1,050 metres East of the main road.

In January, the yield of these springs was gauged at 14,000 G.P.H., and was considered capable of increase by careful cleaning.

On 14th of February, 1918, the preliminary investigations had been completed; a line of levels run from the ancient Birket to JERUSALEM, and a provisional scheme to deliver 250,000 gallons per day submitted to the Engineer-in-Chief on 18th February, 1918.

(5) *Topographical and Climatic Conditions. Population.*—JERUSALEM is 31.46 N. Latitude and 33° E. Longitude. Altitude above sea level for the purposes of the supply has been taken at:—

	feet.
JAFFA ROAD RESERVOIR	2,788
JAFFA GATE	2,618
FATHER RATISBONE'S SCHOOL ...	2,750
RAILWAY STATION	2,558
MOUNT OF OLIVES	2,748
BIRKET ARRUB (bottom of ancient Birket)	2,723
PUMPING STATION	2,732
KILO 19 RESERVOIR	3,083

Plan Ref. No

Rainy season is from middle of November to middle of April, and average rainfall is 60 cm., ranging from 90 cm. maximum to 45 cm. minimum.

Summer temperature seldom exceeds 97° F.

The population is now estimated at 50,000.

(6) *Scheme as Finally Approved.*—The scheme as finally approved was as follows, and was governed chiefly by the machinery and piping available in the country:—

(*a*) To develop and collect the water from the springs, and use the ancient aqueducts to convey the water to the ancient Birket, where 4,000,000 gallons storage could be accumulated.

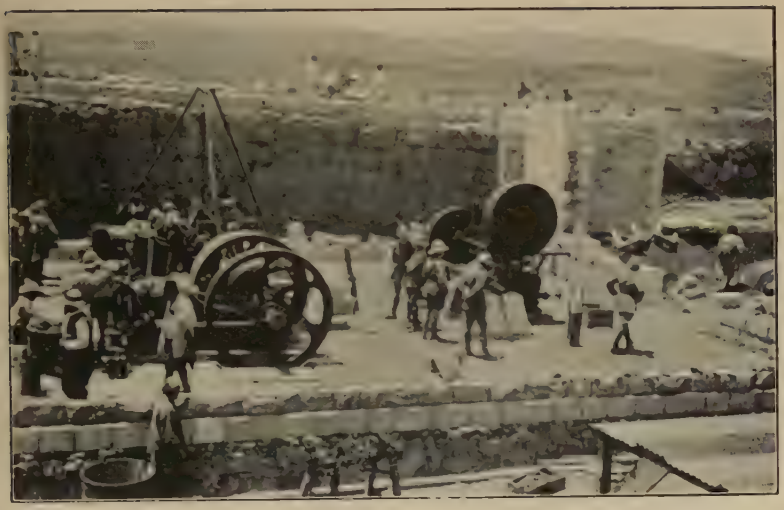
This entailed the excavation, clearing, partly rebuilding and re-roofing of 1,100 metres of aqueduct, and considerable repairs to the old Birket.

(*b*) To erect a three-throw ram pump of a capacity of 15 to 20 thousand gallons per hour against a head of 410 feet, with two 66-H.P. Hornsby engines in a pumping station adjacent to the Birket, so arranged that water could be pumped direct from the aqueduct leading from the springs, or from the Birket storage as required. This latter provision was made so that, should the yield of the springs diminish during the dry season, all the output of the springs could be conserved in the Birket during the time that the pumps were not actually running, thus, not only having a 4,000,000 storage in reserve, but taking full advantage of the total yield of the sources of supply.

(*c*) To lay a twin 6″ rising main from the pumping station to a reservoir situated at Kilo 19, Hebron Road, a distance of 3,320 metres with a difference of level of 351 feet. A1/1

It was necessary to twin this main so as to shorten the hours of actual pumping to 12 to 16 hours a day. No larger diameter pipe was available.

[*To face p.* 18.



PUMPING STATION AT BIRKET EL-ARRUB.

WATER ARRIVES AT JERUSALEM, 18TH JUNE, 1918.

Plan Ref. No.

(*d*) To build a reservoir of a capacity of 300,000 gallons on the natural watershed about Kilo 19, HEBRON ROAD, in such a position that a natural gradient would be obtained, and water would be delivered to JERUSALEM entirely by gravity. This reservoir to be of masonry, and to be built of two equal compartments, and completely enclosed. A1/7

(*e*) To lay a single 6″ pipe from Kilo 19 Reservoir to a point in JERUSALEM situated for position and level to feed the distribution system in JERUSALEM by gravity. The length of the line is 20,350 metres.

(*d*) To build a reservoir of 200,000 gallons capacity at LIFTA, JERUSALEM, at an altitude of 2,788 feet, or 295 feet below the level of the Kilo 19 Reservoir. This reservoir to be of the same type as the Kilo 19 Reservoir, and to be completely covered in.

(*g*) To lay the nucleus of the distribution system in JERUSALEM, with a ring main capable of dealing with the maximum delivery of the gravity main in 12 hours. This system to include branches to all Army supply points and a certain number of civilian watering points in districts where there was likely to be a shortage during the summer months. The total length of Main on the original distribution system was 11,500 metres. A1/37

(7) *Carrying Out of the Work.*—Owing to severe weather and shortage of labour and transport, the work did not commence until 12/4/18 in JERUSALEM, and 15/4/18 at BIRKET ARRUB. Water was delivered in JERUSALEM on 18/6/18.

Referring to Appendix 2 :—

(*a*) After careful reconnaissance the final line was set out, and profiles built or dug at 20 m. intervals.

(*b*) The formation was 2 m. wide on top, slopes 1½ to 1, and drainage culverts placed where necessary.

Plan Ref. No.

(*c*) The laying of the distribution was difficult, owing to traffic and rock excavation, when it was not possible to use explosives.

(*d*) The investigations and clearing of the old system of aqueduct had to be undertaken with great care. All the aqueducts are now partially cleared, but about one-third is still to excavate and recover. The reservoir was built in lime mortar. The suction pump enabled the pumping to commence before the ancient Birket was restored.

(*e*) A considerable amount of rock excavation was done in the foundation of this reservoir. Stone was quarried on the site, and the masonry was built in 6 to 1 cement mortar.

(*f*) Originally 5 tractors were estimated to do the work in 30 days, but owing to these having to travel over metalled roads, a further 7 machines were detailed.

(*g*) In some cases 3 Kilos carry by E.L.C. was necessary, chiefly owing to the line following the WADI BIAR a considerable distance from the metalled road. Appendix 4.

(*h*) The three-throw pump was requisitioned in Cairo. Certain structural alterations were necessary and were completed before delivery at the site. The 66-H.P. Engines were ex the original pumping station at MAZAR.

(*k*) The washing out and coupling up was done in the usual manner.

(8) *Tests.*—The pump delivers 15,000 G.P.H., against a head of 400 feet. The reservoirs are satisfactory and no leaks occurred. The gravity main delivers 12,500 G.P.H. to JAFFA ROAD Reservoir, or 25 per cent. in excess of the calculated discharge.

The distribution system at every point is up to calculated discharge, and is being rapidly extended.

(9) *Finishing Off and Maintenance.*—Appendix 3 gives the lines on which the final work is being done on the pipe line. The reservoirs are now nearing final completion. Appendix 3.

(10) *Historical.*—The ancient works at BIRKET ARRUB are supposed to date back to the time of Herod, 4 B.C.

At that time BIRKET ARRUB was part of the main supply of JERUSALEM and fed the POOLS OF SOLOMON by aqueduct. 5.

The aqueduct between BIRKET ARRUB and POOLS OF SOLOMON is long since disused, and, in some places, has entirely disappeared.

The present aqueduct between POOLS OF SOLOMON and BETHLEHEM is still in use, but in a much modified condition, being simply an earthenware pipe built into the ruins of the once great aqueduct.

By the ruined aqueducts to be found in JERUSALEM, and knowing the sources that were capable of being tapped to the SOUTH, as much as a million gallons per day may at one time have flowed into JERUSALEM by gravity.

(Signed) F. W. STEPHEN,
Major, R.E.

JERUSALEM,
20/7/18.

APPENDIX 1.

JERUSALEM WATER SUPPLY.

Notes on the Laying of the Line.

(1) The line will be marked with iron Kilo posts, numbering from JERUSALEM Reservoir: ½ Kilos will be marked with a red painted L.W.E. post.

(2) Screwing parties will work from the ½ Kilos, and sections will be coupled up with Expansion Joints, so that each Expansion Joint will come at the Kilo post.

(3) Scour Valves will be placed at all the "dips," and will consist of 6″ Tee reducing to a 3″ Valve. The valves will be turned downwards, and suitable pitched channels will be built under the valves.

(4) Air Valves, $\frac{1}{4}$″ piping tapped into the nearest socket, will be placed at each peak, and will afterwards be protected by locked chambers, as heretofore.

(5) Sluice Valves will be placed immediately adjacent to the Expansion Joints at Kilos 4, 8, 12 and 16.

(6) A Tee will be placed about Kilo $3\frac{1}{2}$ (exact position later). This Tee will have one Reflux Valve immediately North of it. The object of this is to have an emergency fire service for the Main Supply Depot.

(7) The line at Kilo 3 to Kilo $5\frac{1}{2}$, and Kilo $8\frac{1}{2}$ to Kilo $9\frac{1}{2}$ is subjected to a very high pressure—about 600 feet—and care should be taken in screwing the pipe at these points, and all pipes and fittings should be examined.

(8) Preliminary washing out will be done at Expansion Joints.

(9) The preliminary covering will be 1 foot deep, final covering 2 feet deep. Where banks and cuttings will permit, the pipe should be kept to one side, preferably the side farthest from the Bethlehem Road to allow of a foot patrol.

(10) The pipe is all American except $5\frac{1}{2}$ kilos, which is English. The English pipe will be laid where the pressure is lightest, viz., Kilo 15 to Kilo $20\frac{1}{2}$.

(11) Section herewith explains itself.

(Signed) F. W. Stephen,
Major, R.E.

Copies to :—

Capt. Inwood, R.E.
Lieut. Dixon, R.E.
Lieut. Dickie, E.L.C.
S. M. Davis, R.E.

DATES OF COMPLETION OF WORK NECESSARY FOR DELIVERY AND DISTRIBUTION IN JERUSALEM.

Date commenced.	WORK.	By	Officer in charge.	Date completed.	Remarks.
1/4/18 (A)	Setting out of main pipe-line and building of profiles.	Sappers and local labour.	Lt. Dixon, R.E.	15/4/18	
10/4/18 (B)	Formation of main pipe-line, building of culverts, etc., 23¾ kilos.	60th Coy., E.L.C. 97th Coy., E.L.C. Contractor.	Lt. Dickie, E.L.C., Kilo 0 to Kilo 15. Lt. Dixon, R.E., Kilo 15 to Kilo 23¾.	14/5/18	
15/4/18 (C)	Distribution system in JERUSALEM :— 2½ kilos 6″ Main. 2½ kilos 4″ Main. 6½ kilos 3″ Main.	E.L.C. and local labour.	S. M. Davies, R.E.	12/6/18	
15/4/18 (D)	Clearing and repairs to feeder aqueduct. First half of Kilo 19 Reservoir. Engine House and suction pump.	E.L.C. and local labour.	Lt. Dixon, R.E.	13/6/18	
15/5/18 (E)	First half of Jaffa Road Reservoir.	35th Coy., R.E., and local labour.	Lt. French, R.E.	14/6/18	
9/5/18 (F)	Tractor distribution of 6″ pipes, 5,000 pipes, 750 tons.	12 Tractors 1006th M.T. Coy. A.S.C.	Capt. Inwood, R.E.	31/5/18	
14/5/18 (G)	Placing on formation, screwing and preliminary covering of 6″ Mains.	60th Coy., E.L.C. 97th Coy., E.L.C.	Lt. Dickie, E.L.C., Kilo 0 to Kilo 15. Lt. Dixon, R.E., Kilo 15 to Kilo 23¾.	10/6/18	
15/5/18 (H)	Machinery—One Three-throw Pump and two 66-H.P. Hornsby Engines.	Sappers Det. 357th Coy., R.E.	Lt. Oakley, R.E.	13/6/18	
17/6/18 (I)	Washing out and coupling up.			18/6/18	Water in Jaffa Rd. Reservoir at 1845

APPENDIX 3.

JERUSALEM WATER SUPPLY.

Notes on Completion and Maintenance.

(1) *Covering.*—The final covering will be completed to a depth of 2 feet over pipe: 2 feet wide at top, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 slopes, stones pitched where necessary.

(2) *Anchorage.*—Anchorages built in masonry will be placed on all slopes over 1 in 10, two in each slope, viz.:—

Kilo $2\frac{1}{4}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$, two.	Kilo $13\frac{1}{2}$ to $13\frac{3}{4}$, two.	Kilo $14\frac{1}{4}$ to $14\frac{1}{2}$, two.
„ $2\frac{1}{2}$ to $2\frac{3}{4}$, two.	„ $13\frac{3}{4}$ to $14\frac{1}{4}$, two.	„ $14\frac{1}{2}$ to $14\frac{3}{4}$, two.

Ten of these have been made in workshops on Order No. 9. Two others are indented by Order No. 22.

(3) *Road Crossings.*—All road crossings will be banked to 2 feet over pipe and ramped to 1 in 20 either side of pipe line, stone pitched where necessary.

(4) *Protection of Formation.*—Where natives are found to use the formation as a track, stone walls will be built over the covering at intervals as obstacles.

(5) *Drainage.*—Where the drainage is considered to be insufficient, such as between Kilo $1\frac{1}{2}$ and Kilo $2\frac{1}{2}$, additional culverts will be built before the rains.

(6) Kilo posts will be built in dry stone with number stone let in in face, indicating kilos and half-kilos.

(7) *Expansion Joint Chambers.*—With the exception of those in Rising Main, Kilo $20\frac{1}{2}$ to Kilo $23\frac{3}{4}$, these will be built in dry stone, roofed with flat stones of suitable size.

(8) *Scour Valve Chambers.*—When all Scour Valves are fixed they will be enclosed in locked chambers as shown in Drawings.

(9) *Air Valve and Line Valve Chambers.*—When fixed these will be built in vertical chambers with a standard 2 feet manhole cover and locked.

(10) *Kiloage of Valves, &c.*—Kiloage of all Valves and Expansion Joints to be measured and clearly indicated on the plan and section.

(11) *Repair and Patrol Stations.*—These will be established:—

(1) At Jerusalem.
(2) „ Solomon's Pools.
(3) „ Birket Arrub Reservoir.

Repair sets to standard list—see Appendix A—will be kept at these stations. Patrols consisting of 1 E.L.C. pipe fitter, and 2 E.L.C. natives will traverse the section daily outwards before 1200 and backwards after 1200. They will carry keys of Valve Chambers, caulking tools and materials, spanners, picks and shovels.

(12) *Reports.*—Reports will be sent to Works Office as to "all clear" or otherwise each night from JERUSALEM and BIRKET ARRUB Stations, and within 24 hours from Centre Section.

Weekly reports of condition of line and list of Station Equipment to this Office on Wednesday evenings.

(Signed) F. W. STEPHEN,
Major, R.E.

Copies to:—
Capt. Inwood, R.E.
Lieut. Dixon, R.E.
Lieut. Dickie, E.L.C.
S. M. Davies, R.E.

APPENDIX "A."

EQUIPMENT OF PATROL STATIONS.

	No.
Pipe Wrenches, 6"	5
Pipe Cutter's Wheels, 6"	2
Expansion Joints, complete with packing ...	2
Chisels, Hand, Flat	6
Chisels, Hand	6
Hammers, Hand	4
Caulking Tools	6
Spanners, Adjustable	4
Lead Wool	50 lbs.
Red Lead	50 „
Boiled Oil	2 gallons.
Picks	10
Shovels	10
Fasses	10
Baskets	20

Note:—One spare pipe, English or American, as case may be, to be placed at each Expansion Joint Chamber with threads greased and protected.

APPENDIX "B."

PERSONNEL OF PATROL STATISTICS.

SAPPERS, 3. E.L.C. PIPE-FITTERS, 3. E.L.C. LABOURERS (minimum), 6.

APPENDIX "C."

PROCEDURE IN CASE OF A COMPLETE PULL-OUT OR BURST PIPE.

(1) Runner to be despatched to Kilo O Reservoir with report.
(2) Line Valves both sides to be closed.
(3) In case of:—(*a*) PULL-OUT.
Pipe socket to be cut off, or pipe cut close to socket, and Expansion Joint fixed.
In case of:—(*b*) BURST PIPE TO BE REPLACED.
New pipe cut to give 3″ clearance between pipe ends and Expansion Joint fixed.
(4) Open Line Valves.
(5) Despatch runner to Kilo O Reservoir to report "all clear" and return with message that supply has been resumed.

APPENDIX 4.

TRACTOR DISTRIBUTION.

Diameter.	1 Holt or Clayton Truck-extended drawbar.	2 good Bucks with brakes.	3 Pontoon wagons.	1 Holt or Clayton Truck with drawbars.
6″	50	40	36	30
4″	85	70	60	50
3″	120	90	75	70

Maximum trip 22 kilos out and 22 kilos Home.

E.L.C. DISTRIBUTION.

On formation (dry weather).
One man carried one 6″ pipe 1 kilo per day.
6 men carry 6″.
4 men carry 4″.
3 men carry 3″.

E.L.C. SCREWING.

Diameter.	E.L.C. Ostas.	E.L.C. Naffars.	Tongs.	Pipes per day.
6″	2	15	5	35—40*
4″	2	10	4	40—50*
3″	2	8	4	50—60*

* According to condition and quality of pipes.

HYGIENE AND DISEASE IN PALESTINE IN MODERN AND IN BIBLICAL TIMES.[1]

By Dr. E. W. G. Masterman.

(*Concluded from Q.S.*, 1918, p. 171.)

Chapter VIII.—*Diseases and Medicine in the New Testament.*

The diseases in the New Testament need to be treated apart from those of the Old Testament, because the facts recorded about them are different. The information given is much more definite; medical terms used by well-known Greek writers occur, particularly in the works of St. Luke; it is disease of the individual rather than of the community which attracts notice; and, lastly, it is not so much

[1] As these articles will subsequently be reprinted in book form, and in order to make them as accurate and complete as possible, Dr. Masterman would welcome any suggestions or criticisms which readers may be willing to send him.

disease, regarded as a judgment of God or simply as the cause of a death which occurs, but it is sickness in relation to the working of the power of Jesus Christ. The healing of disease occurring in the Gospels has, for evident reasons, been the object of searching critical examination by theologians of all schools. No reasonable person who in any degree accepts the historicity of the Gospels—whether the Synoptics or all the four—can dispute that the public ministry of Jesus was attended throughout by works of healing which caused astonishment among His contemporaries. Not only so, but this healing was by no means confined to any special class of cases. Thus, in Matt. iv, 24 (R.V.), we read: "they brought unto Him all that were sick, holden with divers diseases and torments, possessed with demons, and epileptic and palsied, and He healed them," or, put into modern popular medical phraseology, "they brought all the sick to him, people who were suffering from various diseases and painful affections—the insane, the epileptic and the paralysed—and He cured them." We may compare with this the message sent to John (Luke vii, 22, 23): "Go and tell John the things which ye have seen and heard—the blind receive their sight, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, and the dead are raised up." Similar statements to these two occur in Matt. viii, 16, Mark i, 32–34; Luke iv, 40–41; vii, 22. A considerable number of cases of cure receive detailed mention, but there is no indication that the selection is made on account of any striking medical interest. The contrary is the case, for little emphasis is laid on this, the incident being usually given almost entirely to illustrate some special feature of Christ's teaching; the emphasis is always on the spiritual. Thus, certain acts of healing illustrate His opposition to the Pharisaic attitude to the Sabbath (Mark i, 23; iii, 1–5; Luke xiii, 10–16; xiv, 2; John v, 1–15), His claim to power to forgive sins (Matt. ix, 2–8, etc.), or His attitude to the non-Jewish world (Mark vii, 26–30, etc., and Luke xvii, 16). Others illustrate deficiency of faith on the part of the disciples (Matt. xvii, 15–18), or special faith on the part of the sufferer, as with blind Bartimæus (Mark x, 46 ff.) and the woman with the issue of blood (Matt. ix, 20 ff., etc.), or striking faith manifested by the sick one's friends (Matt. viii, 5–13; ix, 18; Mark ii, 5). A few of them appear to be introduced largely to explain Christ's movements from place to place (Mark i, 45; v, 17). As mere wonders the miracles of healing are but little emphasized; they are incidental, and the impression

conveyed is that the cases mentioned are, as acts of healing, but types of all the others.

An important question is, judging the *history as it stands*, what was the nature of these diseases from the medical point of view? Were they, in any large proportion, of the same class as the neurotic diseases which in modern times furnish such successful results to various classes of quacks and faith healers? In the first place, such cases of neurotic diseases are largely on the increase to-day as a result of the conditions of life in our modern Western civilization; it is not fair, therefore, to argue from these to the environment of the Gospel narratives. In all ages such neurotic diseases must have been commoner in town life and among the more luxurious classes, and, beyond dispute, in the majority of cases they occur in young women and girls. The ministry of Christ, however, appears to have been chiefly in the villages and small towns, among the hard-working and the very poor, and of the reported cases the larger proportion are of the male sex. The writer has seen, during many years in Palestine, many thousand cases of disease among just the same class of people, chiefly Jews, living under very similar social and geographical conditions, and he has never seen "neurotic" or "hysterical" disease produce morbid symptoms comparable with those described in the Gospels. Indeed, most of the cases reported in these narratives are just those which are the despair of the modern medical man. As far as can be judged from the particulars given, the larger proportion of the cases would be considered too hopeless for admission to any of our hospitals, where it is necessary to select from a vast number of the sick those cases only which we have a good hope of curing or of permanently benefiting. Such cases as the imbecile, the paralysed, epileptics, the deaf and the blind, would have to be passed over. In many villages in Galilee the writer has been compelled to leave on one side dozens of such unfortunates to deal with the more hopeful cases of fevers, dysentery, ophthalmia, and surgical affections.

Turning now to the examination of the individual disease we find one well-marked case of *epilepsy* (Matt. xvii, 15–18; Mark ix, 15–26; Luke ix, 38–43). The Greek σεληνιάζεται (Matt. xvii, 16) is, literally, "moon-struck," hence the A.V. "lunatic," but the word is the contemporary medical term for epilepsy, and the symptoms are described in such detail that there can be no question as to their genuineness. The centurion's servant, "sick of the palsy,

grievously tormented" (Matt. viii, 6 ff.)—St. Luke adds "at the point of death" (Luke vii, 2–10)—appears to have had an *acute myelitis* or a paralysis due to pressure on the spinal cord or brain. A "functional" paralysis would probably have been painless. The man with such a "withered hand" (Mark iii, 1–5) as described would probably be some old and partially recovered *hemiplegia*, in which, after the recovery of the leg the hand is often left wasted, contracted and useless, or a similar condition brought about by *anterior polio-myelitis*, popularly called infantile paralysis. The paralytic, borne of four, who was let down through the roof (Matt. ix, 2–8; Mark ii, 3–12; Luke v, 18–26), was, considering his sex, very improbably a case of hysterical (functional) paralysis. Not one in a thousand of such cases in adult males is anything but organic paralysis.

Of the cases of mental affliction—a very hopeless class of cases in the Orient, and all needing prolonged treatment if any improvement is to occur—we have:—

(1) The man (Mark v, 1–19; Luke viii, 26–36)—or in Matt. viii, 28–32, *two* men,—who ascribed his illness to a legion of demons inside him, as many such people do to-day, and who dwelt in tombs on the east side of the Lake of Galilee. The condition described is not one which any alienist would consider hopeful.

(2) The dumb man possessed of a demon, whose recovery was so startling that "the multitudes marvelled, saying, it was never so seen in Israel" (Matt. ix, 33). Deaf mutes are by no means uncommon in Palestine to-day, and if this man was one of these—who, as far as the writer has seen, never improve in their surroundings in the Orient—the astonishment of the multitudes was natural. This case, however, allows of more than the possibility that the dumbness was due to emotional causes, and, if so, recovery under the influence of the personality of Jesus is intelligible. Luke xi, 14–15, may refer to this or to the next case.

(3) The man "possessed with a demon"—probably mentally deficient—who was blind and dumb (a condition recalling the well-known Miss Helen Keller), and who was "healed so that the dumb spake and saw" (Matt. xii, 22). Here the choice can only lie between wilful malingering on the part of the patient or a profoundly abnormal and, to science, incurable condition.

(4) The man "with the unclean spirit" healed on the Sabbath day (Mark i, 23). A case of moral depravity due to brain disease.

(5) Somewhat similar to the last was the "unclean spirit" which afflicted the little daughter of the Syro-Phoenician woman (Matt. xv, 22–28; Mark vii, 25–30)—a case apparently of mental depravity bordering on idiocy. In this case it may be noticed that Jesus did not even see the child. The whole group is one which any medical man would undoubtedly consider—judging from the scanty accounts—very unpromising cases for cure, needing at best prolonged and careful treatment.

The case of the twelve-year-old daughter of Jairus, the ruler of the Synagogue (Matt. ix, 18–25; Mark v, 35–42; Luke viii, 49–56), has not been included in this list because, though there is no mention of the nature of the disease, yet it must be admitted that the story, as we read it, would be consistent with the exceedingly rare condition known as *catalepsy*—a condition allied to hysteria—and when Jesus said "She is not dead, but sleepeth," He may have made a perfectly literal statement. The same explanation will not in the least account for the raising of the widow's son at Nain (Luke vii, 11–16), nor of Lazarus at Bethany (John xi, 38–44).

Of the cure of fevers only two specific instances are mentioned: (1) That of Simon's wife's mother (Matt. viii, 14; Mark i, 30), whom Luke the Physician describes as having a "great fever" (Luke iv, 38), *i.e.*, a continuous fever, such as malignant malaria, enteric or typhus. Such disease cannot be charmed away by hypnotism, nor can a patient under normal circumstances rise and minister to people immediately the pyrexia is over (Luke iv, 39). (2) In John iv, 47–54, is an account of how a certain nobleman whose son was sick with fever (verse 52) at Capernaum, received assurance of healing from Jesus at Cana, at the very hour when, as afterwards transpired, "the fever left him."

Although from various passages it may be gathered that Jesus "healed" many *lepers*, only two incidents of this nature are mentioned, and each for a special reason:—(1) The leper who was instantly cleansed (Matt. viii, 2–3; Mark i, 40–45; Luke v, 12–16—where it says he was "full of leprosy"), and whose unbounded gratitude obliged Jesus to betake Himself to the desert (Mark i, 45). (2) The ten lepers who were cleansed together, of whom one, and he a Samaritan, returned to give thanks (Luke xvii, 11–19). Now though leprosy—unlike the modern disease of that name—was certainly in Bible times a curable disease, and yet, from its external manifestations, a skin eruption, a cure

must have been a thing visible to all men, and a recovery had to be testified to by the priest, who alone could allow the patient once again to mingle with his fellow men. No known "mental" influence can cause a skin eruption of this nature to disappear in a few minutes. The woman with the "issue of blood," either *hemorrhoids*, or more probably *uterine hemorrhage*, who had suffered twelve years, and who under the orthodox medical treatment by the physicians of the day had become worse, is described as receiving instant relief on contact with Jesus (Matt. ix, 20–22; Mark v, 25–34). This is not the kind of case which would be likely to be cured by "faith"—in the "faith-healing" sense. In Luke xiv, 2, we have mention of the healing of a case of dropsy (ὑδρωπικός, a medical term), a very definite pathological condition, due usually to cardiac failure or to kidney disease.

With regard to the woman "bowed together" eighteen years (Luke xiii, 10–16) it may, considering the sex, be admitted that it might have been a hysterical case. The writer has, however, never seen such a case due to this cause, whereas such a condition of *kyphosis*, due either to caries of the vertebrae or to chronic rheumatic arthritis, is very common.

The man at the Pool of Bethesda (John v, 2 ff.) had been thirty-eight years "in his infirmity"; the nature of this is not specified, but he was evidently very helpless, lying on a pallet and needing someone to "put him in the Pool." It is difficult to believe that the man, unless a charlatan, which the conditions of the narrative scarcely allow, was not afflicted with some organic disease. The narratives of cure of the blind it is impossible to explain on the "neurotic" theory. Such cases as *hysterical amblyopia* are occasionally met with in which, without any organic change, the sight is for a longer or shorter period quite absent, so that a knife can be thrust directly towards the eye without the patient blinking. But such cases are exceedingly rare in Europe, and are practically unknown among the less highly strung peoples of Palestine. During upwards of a score of years of medical work in Palestine, during which many hundreds of cases of blindness have passed under the writer's observation, he has never seen a single one of this nature. (For the common causes of blindness in Syria see Chapter III.) It is asking too much to expect anyone to believe that the half-a-dozen special eye cases recorded, not to mention several references to general healing of the blind, were cases of this unusual affection;

rare as it is, it is practically confined to the female sex, whereas all the cures mentioned in the Gospels were among men. In Matt. viii, 23–25, a blind man is cured at Bethsaida by the application of saliva (a well-known folk-lore remedy for eye-disease); in Matt. ix, 27–30 two blind men are cured by a touch; in Matt. xx, 30–34, two (Mark says "one," x, 48–50) blind men are healed at Jericho, among them the well-known beggar Bartimæus. In John ix, 1–10, we have the incident of the man "blind from his birth" healed by the application of clay to his eyes, followed by a washing in the Pool of Siloam.

With regard to the *method* used by Jesus in His works of healing, in the great majority of cases a touch from Jesus (*e.g.*, Mark viii, 3–15; ix, 29), or the touching of His person by the sick one (*e.g.*, Matt. ix, 20; xiv, 36; Mark iii, 10) is described as the source of healing power. Faith in Him on the part of the sufferer (*e.g.*, Matt. ix, 22) or of the sufferer's friends (*e.g.*, Matt. viii, 10; Mark viii, 22; Luke viii, 9) appears to have been to some extent a condition of healing. In the incident of the ruler of the synagogue at Capernaum (Matt. viii, 8; Luke vii, 7), mention is made of the "word" by which healing could be done; this is an idea common in oriental magic, and is closely allied to the Jewish idea of the "Name"—the unutterable Name of God mentioned so often in later Jewish writings (Luke iv, 36) appears to be a reference to the same idea. It is a tradition amongst oriental Jews that Jesus performed all His wonders by his knowledge of the sacred "Name." On three occasions subsidiary means were used. In Mark vii, 34, Jesus cures a deaf man with an impediment in his speech, in the midst of Decapolis. "He took him aside from the multitude and put His fingers into his ears, and he spit, and touched his tongue; and looking up to heaven, He sighed, and said unto him Ephphatha that is, Be opened" (verse 34). In Mark viii, 22-25, a blind man is brought to Jesus at Bethsaida, beyond Jordan; and here again Jesus used saliva, and the cure is remarkable in that it occurs in stages. First, the man sees "men as trees walking," and then, Jesus having laid His hands upon him, he sees plainly. These two acts are unique in the Synoptus, as both occurred in semi-pagan places, and in both Jesus endeavoured to guard against notoriety (Mark vii, 36; viii, 26). Very similar to the second case is the healing of the man born blind (John ix, 6, 7), when clay made of saliva is used, and the cure was also apparently progressive, as the washing in the

Pool of Siloam was needed to complete it. No doubt the gestures (cf. 2 Kings v, 11), the saliva, etc., were all intended to strengthen the faith of these special individuals who had not learnt sufficiently of the teaching of Jesus to put their trust in Him unaided.

In the Acts of the Apostles miracles of healing take a subordinate place as compared with the Gospels, but the nature of the diseases treated appears to be similar. It is noticeable that with some, where it is expressly mentioned (*e.g.*, Acts iii, 6; iv, 10), and probably with all (cf. Acts iii, 16) the healing is "in the Name" of Jesus of Nazareth. This is a familiar oriental expression. To-day, a Syrian of any religious persuasion undertakes every important work with a muttered *b'ism Allah*, "in the Name of God," or of Muhammed, or Jesus, or some patriarch or saint. It is the formula for invoking the power of the person mentioned. The miracle of Peter and John at the "Beautiful Gate of the Temple" (Acts iii, 1–10) on the man "lame from his mother's womb" is almost the only one in this book where it is possible to form an opinion as to the nature of the disease. No "neurotic" theory will account for such a man, after having been carried daily and laid at the gate, "walking and leaping" a few minutes later. The record is either worthless as history, or it testifies to a structural change occurring in the lame man's feet. Æneas (Acts ix, 33), a paralytic who had kept his bed eight years, was a hemiplegic or paraplegic, and was healed by Peter "in the Name" of Jesus. The father of Publius (Acts xxviii, 8), is described by the writer of the Acts as having "fever and bloody flux" (πυρετοῖς καὶ δυσεντερίῳ), *i.e.*, either simply acute dysentery, or attacks of intermittent (malarial) fever together with dysentery, a very common combination; the fact that St. Luke uses the plural, "fevers," is in favour of the latter view. The blindness of St. Paul (Acts ix, 8, etc.) was probably a temporary *amaurosis*, and need not have been accompanied by any actual structural changes; the blindness of the sorcerer Elymas (Acts xiii, 11) was probably of the same nature. There is no known physical change in the eye which would suit these instances. The "often infirmities" (1 Tim. v, 23) for which St. Paul recommended a little wine was probably some dyspeptic trouble for which a little alcohol frequently gives temporary relief. That St. Paul's "thorn in the flesh" was some physical disease there can be little doubt, but, regarding its nature, it is impossible here to give an exhaustive discussion. That it was some form of ophthalmia, such as the

trachoma so common among the Jews to-day, liable to exacerbations at times, has much to support it. Such a repulsively disfiguring affliction as this comes to be with many, leading not infrequently to-day to the wearing of coloured glasses, as much to hide as to protect the eyes, would necessarily be a great affliction in a public man. The question is fully worked out in Farrar's *Life and Work of St. Paul*, Vol. I, Ex. x. The theory of epilepsy has had even greater support, and is specially developed by Krenkel (*Beiträge*, pp. 47–125), and more recently that of malaria has been ably argued by Ramsay (*St. Paul the Traveller*, V, 2, and other works). The latter view is distinctly better than the former. Severe epilepsy, especially when untreated, usually shortens life, and almost always leads to marked mental deterioration, of which we have no evidence with the great Apostle.

With regard to the death of Herod Agrippa I (Acts xii, 1, 21 ff.) the account of Josephus (XIX, viii, 2) rather implies that he died of intestinal obstruction or *peritonitis*, the latter due, perhaps to *appendicitis*. The tradition that he was "eaten of worms" may have arisen from his vomiting great quantities of intestinal worms, as frequently happens in the Orient under such circumstances. The other cases supposed to be parallel with his are those of Antiochus Epiphanes (2 Macc. ix, 9) who, while suffering from some bowel disease, met with an accident leading to septic wounds which "bred worms," and that of Herod the Great, whose actual cause of death was clearly dropsy, due to cardiac disease (Jos. XVII, vi, 6), and the horror of whose end is deepened by the description that the diseased parts became infected with "worms." Both these cases refer to the by no means uncommon experience in the East, that neglected wounds become infected with maggots which are difficult to destroy.

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL NOTES ON JEWISH ANTIQUITIES.

By Joseph Offord.

(*Continued from Q.S.*, 1918, p. 185.)

LV.—*Fresh Light on Hadrian's Jewish War.*

The number of Latin and Greek inscriptions which I have been able to collect concerning Roman wars in Palestine during the present era, and the history derivable from such records as to the Legions and Auxiliaries stationed in that country under the Roman Emperors can be augmented by several minor epigraphical monuments, and one important text which was published by M. S. Reinach in the *Revue des Études Juives*, Vol. XVII, which had escaped notice.[1]

This inscription refers to a veteran who obtained distinction during Hadrian's suppression of Bar-Cochba's revolt, and it was discovered near to Mount Pangea, in Macedonia. The Latin text is restored as follows:—

> . . . . D. F. Octavius Secundus, Curibus, Sabbatina miles cohortis X Urbanae translatus in cohortem VI Pretoriam singularis tribuni, beneficiarius tribuni singularis praefecti praetorio optio in centuria signifer fisci curator cornicularius, tribuni evocatus Augusti centurio legionis X Fretensis donis donatus ab divo Hadriano ob bellum Judaicum corona aurea torquibus armillis, phaleris, et ab eodem promotus successit in leg(ionem) primam Italicam; principilus legionis eiusdem adlectus decurio in colonia . . . . . .

This may roughly be rendered as:—

> Here rests Octavius Secundus, born at Cures (in the Sabine), soldier of the 10th Urban Cohort, transferred to the 6th Praetorian Cohort, Official of the Tribune. Assistant of the

[1] See *Proceedings Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XXIV, 1902, pp. 325–8, and XXV, 1903, pp. 30, 33, "Inscriptions Relating to the Jewish War of Vespasian and Titus." *Ibid.*, Vol. XX, 1898, pp. 59–69. "Inscriptions Relating to Hadrian's Jewish War." *Q.S.*, 1911, p. 91, "Inscriptions Relating to Campaigns in Palestine." *Ibid.*, 1915, pp. 200, 201, "A New Record of a Procurator of Judea." *Ibid.*, 1916, pp. 38–40, "A New Found Inscription Concerning Hadrian's Jewish War."

Tribune. Attached to the praetorian praefect. Adjutant of the centurion for century service. Ensign bearer. Employee of the cohort bureau. Reporter of the Tribune. Recalled to active (service) by the Emperor (with grade almost equal to that of centurion). Centurion of the X Fretensis Legion. Rewarded by the divine Hadrian (for acts of bravery) in the Jewish war (decorated) with a golden crown, bracelets, and phaleres. He received a fresh promotion, passing into the Italian legion as principilis of the legion, and was nominated decurion in the colony. . . . . .

The career of the successful general whom Hadrian summoned from the distant province of Britain to suppress the Jewish revolt, whose complete title was Sextus Vinicius Faustinus Julius Severus, is set forth in a long inscription in his special honour, to be read in the *Corpus of Latin Inscriptions* No. 2830, and in the pages of Dion Cassius, or rather in those of the writer who abbreviated that author's work, for the reign of Hadrian, which is all we possess of it. He confuses this Julius Severus with another personage employed as an administrator in Syria at the time of Bar-Cochba's war by Hadrian—Tiberius Severus, Legate of the IV Sythica Legion, whom the people of Ancyra acclaimed in an eulogistic inscription as "a descendant of kings and tetrarchs."

Subsequent to the publication by M. Darmsteter of the relative inscriptions clearly differentiating the two personages, M. S. J. Halberstam pointed out what is evidently an unnoticed mention of the Severus from Britain in Rabbinical works. This occurs, for instance, in Mishno Taanith IV, 6, wherein the author writes "that upon the 17 Tammuz Apostemus, אפוסטמוס (some manuscripts spell the name פיסטמוס) burnt a copy of the Torah," apparently at Bethar, "and set up a statue in the Temple enclosure."[1]

The discovery that Julius Severus also bore the cognomen of Faustinus led M. Halberstam to detect that this Apostemus refers to him, and was probably purposely adopted as his designation by Jewish writers to differentiate him clearly from Tiberius Severus.

Postemus, or Apostemus, it may be said, is not much like Faustinus, but N was frequently changed into M by Jewish scribes; this they did in writing the word Hispania. It may, however, have arisen from a scribal error of אפוסטמוס for אפוסטינוס.

[1] See M. R. N. Rabbinowitz, *Variae Lectiones.*

THE MOUNTAIN THRONE OF JAHVEH.

By Joseph Offord.

In a note on "Semitic Names and Conceptions" in the *Quarterly Statement*, 1917, pp. 139–140, allusion, with references, was made to the adoption of certain mountain summits in Palestine and the Southern Desert as sacred sites suitable for worshipping Jahveh as dwelling there; sites which were at times consecrated to His service, before the Ark and its fiery Shekinah were placed in the Zion temple. Some parallels with such cults, especially those of Baal, were drawn, and at p. 181 an inscription from Gezer was quoted associating Jahveh with Baal Ina. An Egyptian papyrus at Petrograd names sites in Syria (*Ru*)-*ša-'-i-ra*, "God's summit"; also one *Rušakadš*(*a*).

Of course, such instances might have been extended to pagan worships of other races who selected mountains as the homes of deities such as Zeus Lykaios and Olympos, and Laphytos and Artemis Laphria, or Apollo Ptoos; but such Hellenic concepts had no part in producing similar ones among the Hebrews.[1]

With the Mesopotamians, however, there was a close connection, and if we find this is manifested from the Old Testament side as well as from cuneiform writings, it is merely one more proof of the accuracy of the statements as to his environment in the land of the Chaldees from which Abraham came, and a proof that the records of Hebrew developments towards monotheism have been faithfully preserved from very primitive times.

The Babylonian deities, especially Shamash, Sin, and Ishtar, were associated with double-peaked mountains; Sin because of his lunar crescent symbolism, and Ishtar-Astarte-Ashteroth from the crescent of her associate planet Venus, whose phases were known, whence the name Ashteroth Karnaim in 1 Macc. v, and also in her title in Phoenician inscriptions. A temple seated between two mountains near Carthage was dedicated to her.

[1] The "I am" Yahveh is much like the mystic utterance given to man after Deucalion's Flood by the priestess oracle at Dodona: "Zeus was, Zeus is, Zeus shall be." So Neith, goddess of Saïs, had for motto: *Ἐγὼ εἰμὶ τὸ πὰν τὸ γέγονος καὶ οὐ καὶ ἐσομένον.*

Shamash, who is shown on Babylonian cylinders standing or emerging between two mountains, was supposed to make the hollow between their bases his throne or seat of majesty.

Sinai-Horeb,[1] before the Exodus a sacred dwelling of Sin, the two-peaked Moon-god, doubtless included two peaks of the range of Paran, so as to be a Karnaim for that deity. This ancient symbolism is hinted at in the duplicate names for this house of Jahveh in the Pentateuch—Zion and Ophel. According to the Tell el-Amarna tablets, Jerusalem was also the dwelling place of Ninib, or Nirig, one of whose names was Madanunu, the "high," or "renowned." The anthropomorphic concepts producing the mountain association with the dwelling of deity were certainly due to their often being clothed in mysterious clouds, and also to the storms which in Western Asia gather around their summits, often causing a mighty rushing wind to descend to the plain.[2]

Consider the vivid flash of the lightning fires and the appearance as of fire, or the holocaust upon an altar of the peak as tinted by rays of the rising and setting sun, whilst the lowlands lay in darkness. If these phenomena are borne in mind, many of the statements concerning Jahveh and His abodes, including some symbolism of the Tabernacle, and even of the Temple, will become simple. "The Lord came from Sinai and rose up from Seir, he shined forth from Mount Paran" (Deut. xxxiii, 2). "The mountain of God, even Horeb," depict Jahveh as dweller upon the summits,[3] but other statements, especially those of Exod. xxxiii and xxxiv, throw much further light upon our enquiry. There Moses was bidden to come to God at Sinai's summit as being His residence;

[1] Horeb was Har-ha-Elohim, as was Sinai. The later rival peaks of Samaria, Ebal and Gerizim, doubtless a duplicate divine mountain seat of primitive times, was an Amorite adoption of the Mesopotamian double-mountain home of God. Ebal and Gerizim were not always placed at Shechem. Deut. xi, 30, shows them at Gilgal-Bethel.

[2] There was another concept (in this connection) with Yahveh's Mount being in the north, perhaps, because the never-setting Polar star symbolised eternity. Ezekiel (i, 4–14) tells of the great cloud and fire, and out of the midst an amber colour and fire. But there also came the living creatures, the *merkabah*, or Yahveh's throne supporters, *khayyoth*. In chap. x we see he knew of their assimilation to the Cherubim. There is a small Mesopotamian relief showing the Deity seated upon a throne supported at the corners by living creatures (quadrupeds). A copy may be seen in Jeremias' *Old Testament in the Light of the Ancient East*.

[3] Exod. iii, 1.

and we also gather from this story what form the Deity assumed, and hear of the presence upon the holy mount of a cave, as upon so many sacred mountains elsewhere.

In Exod. xxxiii, 12–23, and xxxiv, 2, Moses was to ascend to meet Israel's God at Sinai's top, as in Chapter xix ("The Lord came down upon Sinai and called Moses to the top"). But there was needed a shelter for poor humanity that its representative might not be destroyed by gazing upon the effulgent glory, so there was the protective cave. The light in midst of the cloud flashed like *hashmal*, Assyrian *Eshmaru*, with which they overlaid temple pavements.

That Jahveh Elohim had a sort of throne formed of the curve between two Paran mountains is confirmed by Zech. vi, where four chariots defile out from between two mountains. They were: "Four spirits which came forth from standing before the Lord." In Midrash Rabba iii, 38, it says: "God will come with His four horses (Merkabah) to Sinai." Now in 1 Chron. xxviii, 18, the Cherubim are these Merkabah. The throne-bearers in Ezekiel's imagery of God's throne are also Merkabah. The Midrash proves that the mystical Rabbis knew of the connection between the Mountain Throne Seat and Mercy Seat.[1]

At this point attention should be called to the primitive idea as to the shape assumed by Jahveh when He manifested Himself. The protective cave was *not* His dwelling, but His form was imagined to be that of a gigantic man because his hand sheltered Moses from seeing his sacred majesty. Without wishing in any way to diminish the sacredness of these primitive concepts, it may be conjectured that their origin was partly in some reflective phenomenon upon the cloud mist, which appeared to some as of a gigantic figure like the Brocken. So also some ideas of the signs shown in the desert wanderings may be derived from the fantastic productions of the mirage.[2]

In Exod. xxiv, 10, seventy-three of the Israelites ascend the mountain and view Jahveh in safety, but the part of His form

[1] See also Exod. xxiv, 12 and 16, where the glory of the Lord abode six days upon Sinai, and was like a consuming fire, and Moses went as far as into the cloud. Ovid (*Metamorphoses*), writing of Phaeton approaching the untempered solar light, says: *Consistitque procul, neque enim propriora ferebat Lumina.*

[2] The mountain was only Jahveh's sublunary place of call. In Elijah's theophany, when the mountain shook, He was not the storm itself, but Jahveh Shamaim above the earth—"The Lord was not in the earthquake."

visible to them appears to have only been His feet, for they were not very high up. These feet rested upon a paved platform like a sapphire stone. To receive the Commandment tablets Moses was summoned to ascend to a loftier spot. Bearing in mind the symbolism here summarised, and turning to Exod. xxxiii, we can clearly see that Jehovah was once supposed not only to leave His heavenly seat for a mountain top when communicating with men, but when He was semi-personified by the light between the horns (Karnaim) or peaks of the Ark, which was guarded by the "Tent of Meeting," the steps ordered for Moses to take when he desired to communicate with Jahveh there, and Jahveh's proceedings in such a case are seen to be repetitions of the old mountain drama.[1] The door of the Tent of Meeting is duplicate of the cavern's mouth. Jahveh was not in the tent any more than in the cave. Moses enters the tent, but Jahveh descends enshrouded in a cloud to protect His worshipper from the terror of His glory, whilst Moses, as at the cave-scene, stands at the tent door. Whether Jahveh in the cloud was supposed to have come down to the plain from Sinai or from heaven as Jahveh Shamaim is not specified, but as the narrative is so early and so further elucidated, as we shall see, by a story of Elijah, the former is probably the case.[2]

To prevent any failure to detect the summit symbolism of the Tent of Meeting, the Ark was to be made of acacia wood, the only timber which grows upon Sinai, as thus connected with the Creator Deity. The LXX calls it ξύλον ἄσηπτον, "The Wood of Life." Later on, Jahveh's presence was, to a certain extent, conceived of as being partly manifest in the Shekinah. According to Jewish tradition

[1] Perhaps no more pertinent parallel of these primitive views of Jahveh, with similar thought, elsewhere can be given than Homer's imagery of God upon Ida's Mount:—

> "Now the Eternal shook His sable shield (the cloud)
> That shaded Ida, and all the subject field
> Beneath its ample verge. A rolling cloud
> Involved the Mount: the thunder pealed aloud,
> The affrighted hills from their foundations nod
> And blaze beneath the lightnings of the God."

[2] The sapphire footrest of the Sinai Deity later became the Kapporet of the Temple Ark "The place of my throne and the place for the soles of my feet" (Ezek. xliii, 7). Shekinah does not occur in Scripture. This light, passing from the Cherubim's summits to each other over the Mercy Seat, imitated the electric flashes from the arms of the Mountain Seat of God.

it was first in the Tabernacle and later in the Temple. This does not appear in the earlier Jewish history; neither does it seem to have been accepted by the inner circle of seers and prophets. These, acquainted with the esoteric knowledge, did not think it safe to seek intercourse with Jahveh there. During the later desert wanderings we possess the primitive stratum of the views of Moses and the people. To them, to adopt a modern phrase, the Tabernacle Tent of Meeting was Jahveh's Selamlik, just as the mountain cavern was or had been. At the latter no sacrifices were offered. For the Tabernacle these commenced when it contained the Ark, which, during some previous period, appears to have been in the custody of Ephraim.[1]

These sacrifices were continued at the Temple of Zion, which contained the Ark. But as late as the time of Elijah it was not deemed possible to really commune with Jahveh at the Temple; His dwelling place was not actually therein. In 1 Kings xix, Elijah, anxious to ask the commands of Jahveh, to make certain of being able to communicate with Him, proceeded first to Beersheba, and then for forty days through the Wilderness. At Beersheba the Angel of the Lord came to him, but that was not the place for interviewing Jahveh. To attain that privilege he needs must reach "the Mount of God"; only when he reached the sheltering cave (v. 9) "There came, not Jahveh, but the Word of God."

Then the old summit drama is re-enacted, and consequently that of the Tent of Meeting door porch.[2] Elijah (v. 13) stands at the cave's entrance, being ordered to "go forth and stand before the Lord." He passes by whilst a great wind rends the rocks and the earth shakes, but the Lord was not in the wind nor the earthquake. Lightning illumined momentarily the inspiring scene, but neither was he in that dread fire. It does not clearly appear that Jahveh came. Elijah expected Him, and hearing the voice,

[1] Had no sacrifices been prescribed for the Tabernacle Temple, it is a question whether, humanly speaking, even a select few of the people could have been kept from attending the competing pagan shrines which possessed them. 1 Sam. iv, Ichabod shows God's glory, Kabod departed with the loss of the ark.

[2] The door-posts of a Hebrew's house, and of the Tabernacle and subsequent Temple, were *mezūzah*, Exod. xii, 7, Assyrian *manzazu*, "pillars, standing pieces." When the Assyrians saw the obelisks at the Egyptian temple gates, they called them *manzazu*. The Jews affixed *mezūzōth* later to the doorposts (Ezek. xliii, 8): "Their threshold by Mine, and their posts by My posts," says the Lord.

he being in terror, well within the sacred cave, went out, for further protection wrapping his head in his mantle. Then the voice gave the response sought for.[1]

It is questionable whether the Old Testament writers ever imagined Jahveh elsewhere on earth than upon some mountain. In the wanderings they were led, not by Him, but by His angel. The Elohistic story quoted of the seventy elders and the three special elect going partly up Sinai, when Moses, at a more lofty height, stood before the sacred cave to meet Jahveh, is duplicated by the "Jahvist version" of Numb. xi, 16 *seq*, where the seventy are there said to have gone to the door of the Tent of Meeting, a striking confirmation that the lowland Tabernacle is symbolic of the divine mountain.

But to meet Moses at the lower level God sends word: "I will come down." He was temporarily to descend from Sinai. If, as conservative scholars contend, there is no real contradiction between the two series of records, the Elohist and Yahvist, then Jahveh in the cloud and fire pillar acted as leader by means of his "angel," and was not personally embodied therein. The suggestion made, *supra*, that the two heights at Jerusalem constituted the God of Israel's throne, probably best explains Isa. ii, 2, where the mountain of the House of Jahveh, is to be established on the summit of the mountains.

The words of Our Lord when conversing with the Samaritan woman, speaking of her people's mountain deity ("You know not whom"), had a hidden reference behind them connected with a recent event. Subsequent to the cruelties of Antiochus at Jerusalem, "the Samaritans said they were not Jews, but Sidonians, and requested permission to dedicate their Mount Gerizim temple to Jupiter Hellenius, as before it had been without a name" (Josephus, *Wars*, V, v, 121). This allegation was probably incorrect, but the invariable hesitation to disclose the real pronunciation of the Tetragrammaton may be meant. Probably they would have invoked the God Jahveh Shamaim, under the form of Zeus Upsistos, so as to avoid detection by Greek neighbours.

[1] M. Jules Morgenstein shows that Solomon's Temple, דביר and the Tabernacle Holy of Holies symbolised the mountain cave. Such sacred chambers were parts of Semitic shrines. From Phoenician, the מערה, etymologically becoming the Greek μέγαρον, the oracular cave chamber of primitive Hellenic sanctuaries.

The instances of El-Shaddai being two mamelons, or hill breasts, and so God "the nourisher," were discussed in a previous paper. The horned Ashteroth connection with two hills appears most forcibly in Syriac, where the name may be read as "one whose teats are milk-filled." The Pentateuch knows her as the deity of the mysterious Rephaim (see Gen. xiv, 5).

THE GYPSIES OF PALESTINE.

By Joseph Offord.

The Sultanieh Geographical Society of Cairo has appointed, as a special subject for study and the composing of a thesis, a "Monograph upon the Gypsies of Egypt." The enquiry to embrace the Beledi, Ghagar, and the Nawar, and a comparison with the Palestine gypsies is suggested as highly desirable. The direction terminates by stating that no work upon the subject has been issued since the year 1800.

This assertion is to a certain extent erroneous, because, only a few years ago, Prof. R. A. Stewart Macalister, in one of the series of the Gypsy Lore Society of Liverpool publications, entitled, "The Language of the Narwar, or Zutt Nomad Smiths of Palestine," issued a work upon them. It is to be hoped that in future better arrangements for the interchange of French with British scientific publications will be made, so that both countries will be more cognisant of each other's work.

Herr Seetzen collected and edited a preliminary vocabulary of the Turkish gypsies in the neighbourhood of Beirut, but Prof. Macalister's book is much fuller, including some 1,300 words, many of which, however, are identical with or are derivations of Arabic. These are all indicated, so that students using the vocabulary as basis for work upon the Narwar dialect can easily select the words peculiar to it. The dictionary is based upon a series of some one hundred stories recited to Prof. Macalister in what is termed the Nuri of the Nawar by a member of their tribe, a few families of

which were dwelling in tents outside the Jerusalem Damascus Gate.

A grammar, as far as at present possible, is provided—the alphabet being given in Roman characters; then the various parts of speech are discussed and notes given upon Syntax and Particles. The first ten numerals which may afford some clue to philologists as to the derivation of the language are as follows:—

1. Yika, yikak.
2. Di, dis, dies.
3. Taran, taranes.
4. Star, stares.
5. Punj, punjas.
6. Sas, sasas, or taran-wa-taran.
7. Hot, hotis, or star-wa-taran.
8. Star wa star.
9. Star-wa-star wa-yikak star-wa punj.
10. Das, des.

Animal names frequently afford a clue, and so we add some of these:—Dog or jackal, snota; ewe, bakri; locust, paka; snake, sap or sapi; horse, yegir or yegri.

The Sultanieh Geographical Society also endeavours to encourage other studies, especially historical documents—Pharaonic, Greco-Roman, Coptic and Arabic—and undertakes to publish work of that character in the Society's *Bulletin*. If it can induce the indigenous Egyptian to earnestly take up and continue such studies it will be a worthy achievement.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

1. *Palestinian Scarabs.*—The view of Commandant Weill regarding scarabs found in Palestine (*Quarterly Statement*, 1918, p. 175), hardly seems warranted by the facts. All the scarabs found in Palestine are not a tenth—perhaps not a hundredth—of those of the same period found in Egypt. The material is from Egypt, the glazing is an Egyptian art. We should have to believe that materials and skilled workers were sent to Palestine in order to return most of the scarabs they made as imports to Egypt. Until a factory is found in Palestine it is unlikely that any class of scarabs were regularly produced there. The reading, Anra, stated to be on the Palestine scarabs is a mis-reading of *Du-ne-ra*, "Gift of Rā" = Heliodorus. It is only an epithet and not a name.

Wm. Flinders Petrie.

2. *New Tablets from Amarna.*—Just before the outbreak of war M. Thureau Dangin acquired for the Louvre a further series of the celebrated Tell el-Amarna tablets. Their publication has been postponed because of M. Thureau Dangin's absence at Salonika.

As they have been so long on hand, Père Scheil has now reported upon them at a Meeting of the French Academy, and, doubtless, an abstract of his essay will appear in the excellent *Revue d'Assyriologie.* The volume published nearly four years ago upon Supplementary Tablets from Tell el-Amarna at Berlin is very difficult to obtain, but Palestine historians have much to hope for from both these new collections.

JOSEPH OFFORD.

TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARABIC CONSONANTS.

HEBREW.

Hebrew.	English.	Hebrew.	English.
א	’	כ ך	kh
ב	b	ל	l
ב	bh	מ ם	m
ג	g	נ ן	n
ג	gh	ס	s
ד	d	ע	‘
ד	dh	פ ף	p
ה	h	פ	f
ו	v, w	צ ץ	z
ז	z	ק	k
ח	h	ר	r
ט	t	ש	sh
י	y	ש	s
כ	k	ת	t
ת	th		

ARABIC.

Arabic.	English.		Arabic.	English.
ا	’		ض	d
ب	b		ط	t
ت	t		ظ	tz
ث	th		ع	‘
ج	g	or j in Syrian Arabic.	غ	gh
ح	h		ف	f
خ	kh		ق	k
د	d		ك	k
ذ	dh		ل	l
ر	r		م	m
ز	z		ن	n
س	s		ه	h
ش	sh		و	w
ص	z		ي	y

Long vowels marked thus :—ā, ē, ī, ō, ū.

THE

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

The date of the Annual General Meeting this year will be advertized as soon as it is arranged.

NOTES AND NEWS.

Our subscribers will be interested to learn that a new survey of the southern half of Palestine has been carried out by the Royal Engineers during the recent campaign, and that a copy of this map, which is to a larger scale than our own original one inch to a mile map, is being supplied to the Committee by the War Office with a courteous acknowledgment of the services rendered to the army by the maps of the Palestine Exploration Fund. For the use of the Expedition this new map was supplemented by a series of photographs taken from a height of about 5,000 feet by the R.A.F., in such a way as to form a complete overhead view of the whole area surveyed, the whole number of negatives amounting to some 7,000, the map being divided by cross lines and numbered as an index to the position of the photographs. It will be readily understood that this altogether forms a most remarkable record of the present

state of the country, and the map itself constitutes a very complete survey of so much of Palestine as it includes, with all recent alterations and additions including roads and railways. Roughly, this may be taken as covering all the land south of a line drawn from Caesarea to a point somewhat north of due east beyond Jordan down to the frontier of Egypt. The Committee feel very sensible of the courtesy of the authorities of the War Department in placing this valuable record in their hands. The glass plate negatives, which form so invaluable a supplement to the map, at present remain in Cairo.

We are able to publish in this issue an important article by the Rev. P. N. Waggett, M.A., on a recent discovery in the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem, to which we wish to draw special attention. We are also permitted to reprint from the *Times* of February 6 an article on "Reconstruction in Jerusalem."

According to the *Daily News* of February 4, Mr. Ashbee, civic adviser to the administrative organisation in Jerusalem, stated that it was proposed to fill up the gap which was made in the wall to enable the ex-Kaiser to make his triumphal entry into the city, and also to pull down the "appalling" clock-tower erected in honour of the event. Native industries are to be revived, and funds raised for the preservation of the great Islamic buildings on the Temple area, the Dome of the Rock and the Al-Aksah mosque. "The work of the administration is welcomed by the inhabitants, but with the Eastern lack of enthusiasm; they seem, however, thoroughly to appreciate the new water-supply."

It may be added that the important account by Major Stephen, R.E., in the last issue of the *Quarterly Statement*, of the new water-supply is especially commented on by the *Manchester Guardian* (February 4) in a leading article.

Our readers will be glad to know that our Assistant Secretary, Mr. George Ovenden, has been released from military service and is

now able to resume his duties. For a few weeks Miss Estelle Blyth, who during his absence has so efficiently acted as his substitute, remains in order to inform him of the transactions and correspondence which have taken place during his absence, after which she will retire from the post which she has filled with conspicuous ability and tact for some three years. The Committee desire to express their very great satisfaction with the zeal and efficiency with which she has carried on the manifold duties, which she undertook at very short notice, and their regret that the temporary nature of her engagement now brings her valuable services to conclusion.

In 1876 the Society published a volume of Photographs of Biblical Sites, by Lieut. H. H. Kitchener, R.E., F.R.G.S., containing twelve photographs taken by Lord Kitchener during the time he was at work on the Survey of Western Palestine, together with a short description of each written by himself. Some of the views taken are no longer obtainable, as new buildings have sprung up everywhere, altering or marring old sites. The descriptions, though so short, are charmingly written, and show what a strong feeling Lord Kitchener had for the Holy Land. He took the keenest interest and pleasure in the preparation of this, his only book, as his letters show, though the actual publication of it was left in Sir Walter Besant's hands, as Lord Kitchener returned to Palestine before it was in proof. There are about forty copies of this book still unsold, and these can be had on application to the office of the Society, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W., at the original price of one guinea, postage extra.

Fifty Years' Work in the Holy Land: A Record and a Summary, 1865–1915.—Under this title the late Colonel Sir C. M. Watson, K.C.M.G., etc., gave an entirely new revision of that *résumé* of the work of the Fund which has been issued from time to time in order to furnish readers, and—especially—new subscribers with a synoptical account of the more important aims and achievements. Such accounts have been published in 1870, 1872, 1886, and 1895, so that twenty years have passed since the last revision—years during which most valuable excavations have been undertaken, notably at Gezer.

The year 1915 being the Jubilee of the Palestine Exploration Fund a new edition was especially appropriate, and old subscribers as well as new will find that the book by the late Chairman of the Executive Committee gives an admirable bird's-eye view of the work of the Fund. Although space allows the book to provide only the bare outlines of what has been done, the material is so arranged as to include all information necessary to explain the different expeditions and excavations. A map is also appended containing all the important names and sites. Chapters are written on the reason why the P.E.F. was established; the foundation of the Society in 1865; the preliminary reconnaissance of Palestine, 1865–6; the explorations at Jerusalem, 1867–70; the expedition to the Desert of the Exodus, 1869–70; the survey of Western Palestine in 1871–7; the survey of Eastern Palestine in 1881–2; the geological expedition and survey of the Arabah in 1883–4; the excavations at Lachish, Jerusalem, etc. (five chapters), the survey of Southern Palestine in 1913–14; the Palestine Pilgrims' Texts, and a concluding chapter on the administration of the Society. There are two appendices: the chronology of the P.E.F., and the chronology of the publications. The book is published by the Committee of the Fund, and can be had on application to the Assistant Secretary. Price, 3*s.* 6*d.* Postage extra.

The Committee have brought out a new edition of the ($\frac{3}{8}$ in. to the mile) Map of Western Palestine, of which the original edition has been for some time out of print. It is in two large sheets, and will be, primarily, a travellers' map. The roads and railways constructed since the original survey have been added. For the sake of clearness, only the modern names are given. The hill shading is in a lighter tint for the same reason. All the country beyond that actually surveyed is shown in outline only. In a few years it may be possible to add much of this in a further edition. In the meantime, this is the clearest map and the easiest to consult of any yet issued by the Society. The price of the complete map is 7*s.* 6*d.* If desired, the map can be mounted on linen to fold, or on rollers, 15*s.* Subscribers' price, 12*s.* 6*d.* Postage extra.

The Library of the Palestine Exploration Fund contains many duplicate volumes, including standard works by Robinson, Ritter,

Stanley and others. They may be had separately, and with a list, the price of each volume, has been prepared, and can be obtained on application.

Recent additions to the Library, by purchase, include:—

Eastern Exploration, Past and Present, by Prof. Flinders Petrie.

Journey through Arabia Petraea to Mount Sinai and the excavated city of Petra, the Edom of the Prophecies, from the French of M. Léon de Laborde. (Murray, London. 1836.)

Hadriani Relandi Palaestina ex Monumentis veteribus Illustrata Trajecti Batavorum, ex libraria Gailielmi Broedelet. MDCCXIV.

Palaestina ex Monumentis veteribus Illustratae; Liber Primus, In quo de Palaestinae Nominibus, Situ, Terminis, Partitione, Aquis, Montibus, et Campio Agitur; Liber Secundus, In quo agitur de Intervallis Locorum Palestinae. (The two volumes bound in one: maps and illustrations.)

Samuelis Bocharti Geographia Sacra cujus pars prior Phaleg de Dispersione Gentium & terrarum; pars posterior Chanaan de Coloniis & sermone Phoenicien. MDCLXXIV.

A Primer of Hebrew Antiquities (1895), by the Rev. O. C. Whitehouse.

The Bible and Babylon (1905), by Ed. König.

The Hittites (1910), by Prof. A. H. Sayce.

The list of books received will be found below, pp. 55, 56.

The Index to the *Quarterly Statements* previously published included the years from 1869 to 1892, and the need for its continuation to a more recent date has been greatly felt. During the year 1911, the Committee decided to supplement the old Index by one which should include the completion of the work at Gezer, that is to say, from 1893 to 1910. The laborious task was undertaken by Mr. (now Prof.) Dickie, whose familiarity with the matter dealt with, and conscientious exactitude, have now enabled the Committee to publish it with confidence. Price in cloth, 5*s.*; unbound, 3*s.* 6*d.*

The Committee will be glad to communicate with ladies and gentlemen willing to help the Fund as Honorary Local Secretaries.

Plaster casts of the raised contour maps (large and small) of Jerusalem have been prepared and can now be had on application. The horizontal scale of the large map is $\frac{1}{2500}$ and the total dimensions are 5 feet by 4 feet 3 inches. The remains of the city walls and streets discovered on the Eastern and Western Hills are indicated in red lines. This map will be a most valuable help to the study of Jerusalem topography. Price £3 3*s*. Case and packing extra. The scale of the smaller map is $\frac{1}{10000}$ and the size 20 inches square. Price without addition of early walls and streets £1 5*s*.

It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but they are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers.

Subscribers who have not yet paid will greatly facilitate the Committee's efforts by sending in their subscriptions without further delay, and thus save the expense of sending out reminders.

Subscribers to the Fund are reminded that, whilst the receipt of every subscription and contribution is promptly acknowledged by the Assistant Secretary, they are now published annually. A complete List of Subscribers and Subscriptions for 1918 is published in the Annual Report.

Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre, the last work of the late Major-General Sir Charles Wilson, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., F.R.S., D.C.L., LL.D., etc. In this work our former Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund has brought together for the first time all the evidence which the most exhaustive research enabled him to collect bearing on the subject of these Holy Sites; and probably no man living had at once so intimate a knowledge of all investigations in the modern Jerusalem and so complete an acquaintance with what has been written about the Sites from the time of Constantine onwards. The price of the work (demy 8vo) is 6*s*., by post 6*s*. 4*d*.

A reprint of *Names and Places in the Old and New Testaments*, by the late Mr. George Armstrong, is now on sale, price 6*s*. The book was out of print for some years.

A complete set of the *Quarterly Statements*, 1869–1910, containing some of the early letters (now scarce), with an Index, 1869–1910, bound in the Palestine Exploration Fund cases, can be had. Price on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.

The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index, bound in cloth, is £10 10*s*. A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.

The Museum at the office of the Fund, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W., is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 4, except Saturdays, when it is closed at 1 p.m.

Subscribers in U.S.A. to the work of the Fund will please note that they can procure copies of any of the publications from the Rev. Prof. Lewis B. Paton, Ph.D., Honorary General Secretary to the Fund, 50, Forest Street, Hartford, Conn.

The Committee have to acknowledge with thanks, among other journals and books, the following :—

A Guide-book to Southern Palestine: published by the *Palestine News*, 1918.

The Expository Times.

Studies, Dec., 1918.

The Irish Theological Quarterly, Oct., 1918 ; Jan., 1919.

Bible Lands, Jan., 1919.

Scottish Geographical Magazine, March, 1919 : The Bagdad Railway and its Connections.

Modern Sons of the Pharaohs, by S. H. Leeder.

The Zionist Review.

De Arcana Foederis, by P. Gaudent Orfali, O.F.M. (Paris.)

The Central Event of Universal History: A Study of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ from the Dead, by Jos. Palmer. (Sydney, 1918.)

A Jewish Palestine: The Jewish Case for a British Trusteeship, by H. Sacher. (Published by the Zionist organisation.)

Journal of the American Oriental Society, Oct., 1918.

Art and Archaeology, Dec., 1918.

The Homiletic Review, Dec., 1918: The Future of Palestine, by Prof. L. B. Paton; Review of Sir George Adam Smith's booklet "Syria and the Holy Land."

Revue Biblique, July–Oct., 1918: Pour la Conservation de Jérusalem; Le Mur de Bethléem; Mont des Oliviers; Ruine de la Grotte de l'Éléona; Tombeau et Mosque, par F. M. Abel, O.P.

Journal Asiatique, May–June, 1918.

See further, pp. 87 *sqq.*

The Committee will be glad to receive donations of Books to the Library of the Fund, which already contains many works of great value relating to Palestine and other Bible lands.

The Committee desire to acknowledge with thanks the following contributions to the Library :—

From Colonel Pirie-Gordon, Military Editor, Palestine :—

A Guide-book to Southern Palestine, Judea, Philistia, and the Dead Sea: with Historical Introduction and six maps. (Published by the *Palestine News*, 1918.)

From the author, Sir William Willcocks, K.C.M.G. :—

From the Garden of Eden to the Crossing of the Jordan. (Published by the French Institute of Oriental Archaeology, Cairo, 1918.)

From Mr. Joseph Palmer, New South Wales :—

The Central Event of Universal History, by Joseph Palmer, 1918.

From the author, A. Hiorth, Christiania :—

Concerning the Colonization of Palestine.

The Committee will be grateful to any subscribers who may be disposed to present to the Library any of the following books :—

Sir J. G. Frazer, *Folk-lore in the Old Testament: Studies in Comparative Religion, Legend and Law.* (Macmillan, 1918.)

Duc de Luynes, *Voyage à la Mer Morte* (1864); published about 1874.

K. von Raumer, *Der Zug der Israeliten.* (Leipzig, 1837.)

Lagarde, *Onomastica Sacra* (1887).

The Antonine Itinerary—an edition by Parthey and Pindar was published in 1847 at Berlin. An edition in Russian is also extant, but is therefore not available save to the few who know that language.

For list of authorised lectures and their subjects, kindly write to the Secretary.

Whilst desiring to give publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they do not necessarily sanction or adopt them.

FORM OF BEQUEST TO THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund; and I direct that the said sum be paid, free of Legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge for the same.

NOTE.—*Three Witnesses are necessary to a Will by the Law of the United States of America, and Two by the Law of the United Kingdom.*

BETHLEHEM.

By the Rev. P. N. Waggett, M.A.

Mr. Gladstone preferred, Sir Henry Lucy says, to go to the Academy in the society of an artist. "Artists," he said, "looking at a picture always see in it less to criticise, more to admire than is possible to ordinary man." The thing is true of great art also; it is true of a great building. Going about the Church of the Nativity at different times with an accomplished architect, I have found myself, by his sympathy and instruction, less embarrassed by its losses and disfigurements than before, and abler to seize, by a mental abstraction of some features, the august and simple beauty of its plan and structure. Gaunt and lustreless in its darkened state it showed its grand design; as Père Abel of the Dominicans says: "en dépit des odieuses cloisons modernes qui en ont ruiné l'harmonie intérieure."

But instruction has its drawbacks for a man who should write in a hurry. Walks with learned friends, and conversations with Père Abel at the hospitable convent of St. Stephen—the home of Biblical and antiquarian research, and itself resting on Eudoxian foundations—have left me so full of matter and argument, and with such a sense of the immense and eventful history of shrine and church, that I can no longer attempt to cover the ground in the thinnest of sketches, or give any abstract of the investigations pressed by the devoted industry of many great students, beginning in modern times with Tobler and Sepp—Tobler, who prayed while Sepp measured; men equipped like de Vogüé, Weigand, Meistermann, and, finally, the Dominican Fathers Vincent and Abel.

Fortunately, such an attempt as once seemed possible to me is excluded by your possession in London—we cannot get it here—of the great book made by the two authors just named. This book,[1]

[1] *Bethléem, le Sanctuaire de la Nativité*, by PP. H. Vincent and F. M. Abel O.P. (Paris, 1914.)

fully illustrated, armed with all the original documents and the closest reasoning, should be consulted by anyone who would understand Bethlehem, more especially as it takes full account of the work of de Vogüé[1] and such writers as I named just now, as well as the important collection of English studies referred to most often by PP. Vincent and Abel under the name of Mr. W. Harvey, who, by the way, differs from them in giving the church a single origin.[2] Among the short notices contained in general guide books, the most interesting is by F. Meistermann,[3] a learned Franciscan who agrees with the Preaching Friars about the poor wall of 1842, "un horrible mur," which has quite lately, at the request of the Greek, and with the approval and consent of the Latin and Armenian authorities, disappeared from the church. It is probably because the tradition of the sacred site has at Bethlehem been so nearly unchallenged that Dr. Sanday did not devote to it one of his deeply thoughtful discussions.[4]

No book, I think, prepared one for the aspect of the place, the beauty and dignity of the church, the simplicity, all things considered, and quiet of the cave. In the first place, the town of Bethlehem—for it is a prosperous town with a many good houses seated on its two hills—is at once utterly Palestinian and utterly Christian. Jerusalem, close by, is, in buildings and aspect, predominantly Saracenic in its coloured moving crowd, now, at least, a mingling of local with Bedouin and European-Jewish elements. The student can, perhaps easily, see beyond the Saracenic aspect. The rocky site forbids the obliteration of the city's ancient and necessary outline; there are massive remains of its older walls; in the arches within the "Ecce Homo" Church and the pavements of its crypt, Rome confronts you with her strange power of carrying an impression across the ages; the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, especially the front, gives you, with St. Anne and many mediaeval doorways, precious memorials of Christian art; but Jerusalem

[1] *Les Églises de la Terre Sainte et Jérusalem, hier et aujourd'hui*, by the Marquis de Vogüé.

[2] *The Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem*, by W. Harvey, W. R. Lethaby, O. M. Dalton, H. A. A. Cruso, and A. C. Headlam. (Byzantine Research Fund. London, 1910.)

[3] *Nouveau Guide de la Terre Sainte*, by Barnabé Meistermann, O.F.M., Missionaire Apostolique. (Paris, 1907.)

[4] *Sacred Sites of the Gospels*, by W. Sanday, D.D., with the assistance of Paul Waterhouse, M.A., F.R.I.B.A. (Clarendon Press. 1903.)

within the walls is now a Saracenic city. Bethlehem is altogether Christian in its monuments, as it is Christian by long descent in its population. When lately it had more than ten thousand inhabitants, only some eight hundred were Mohammedans. Of the Christians, nearly four thousand were Orthodox Greeks, and, besides ninety-three Uniat Greeks, the Roman Catholics, *sans phrase*, were more than five thousand, possessing, besides their rights in the Holy Place, a spacious modern church (the successor of the Church of St. Catherine of Alexandria) adjoining the Basilica. On the road by Mar Elyas and Rachel's tomb, the high headdresses of Christian women give a new character, as you approach the place, to the groups that make that road so pleasant. The narrow, winding street of the Western Hill leads to a broad and airy platform overlooking deep valleys to the north, and on the south, enclosed by a mass of fortress-like masonry, part of the crowd of conventual buildings that surrounds and conceals the church. The platform space is closed eastward by the façade of the church, obscured by an added mass of stone, and shouldered by the Armenian convent on the south. The Latin house seems to approach more discreetly on the north side. Between the ungainly buttress and the convent, you see, from a space once perhaps occupied by Constantine's Atrium, part of the right door and the deep lintel and right upright of Justinian's central entrance to the narthex.

Far below the Roman lintel is a Gothic arch showing how Crusaders filled and repierced the doorway; and in the right-hand quarter as it were of a shield reversed—like those Gothic shields the hoplites of old Egypt carried points upwards—framed in three large stones, and perhaps once further divided by an iron upright, is a low rectangular entrance, the only way to the church from the world outside. This door is about a metre wide, less than one and a half metres high, a little postern-like opening designed, no doubt, as was the tiny door of the once Georgian Monastery of Holy Cross (*Deir el-Musallabeh*—now the shelter of many refugees), in the interests of defence. Some people say that it was to shut out camels. The symbolist, as he bends to pass, may recall the Magnificat temper, the humility fit for an approach to the Birth-Shrine. The square hole admits to the narthex; and thence you pass to the stately basilica, under the fine cross-carved wooden panels given in the thirteenth century by King Haytoun of Armenia, a predecessor of those Armenian princes who, passing like phantoms,

make a spectral appearance in the memoirs of Joinville and Villehardouin.

The church is cruciform, a nave with deep double aisles, the whole supported by four rows of ten columns each, with an apsed choir and a transept apsed as well north and south. The transept is of the width of the nave making, therefore, a square open crossing supported by four piers of special form; the three apses are equal, but there is a difference of arrangement. The transept apses spring directly from the line, continued beyond them, of the main side walls; the principal or eastern apse is recessed from the choir by an additional right-angled space.

The body of the church, we see to-day, has a stone pavement of 1842, so levelled as partly to hide the plinths of the colonnade; its aisle windows have been built up, perhaps for defence again; and its character is oddly obscured by a feature you do not suspect at first of this effect, an open wooden roof of the Late Middle Ages, built by Philip of Burgundy and leaded, they say, by our Edward IV. But the four great rows of columns are nearly in their first state. They are beautiful monoliths of Palestine stone, standing with capitals and bases nineteen feet high. The capitals are Corinthian without Byzantine features. A small cross surmounts the acanthus ornament. The close spacing of the pillars, determined no doubt by the flat architrave, gives the true basilican impression. The two colonnades of either side are separated about twelve feet, the columns in each series nowhere so much as six feet apart. In a side view, especially, a wonderful union of strength and grace is given by the grove of pillars of pearl, a grace not indeed to be compared with the finest results of mature Gothic, but separated by a whole scale of merit from some transitional churches, with low and widely-spaced pillars.

The small relieving arches hidden in the wall of the Bethlehem church do not concern us at this point.

The colonnades are in their first state, and the nave, with all its gloom and bareness, is nearer now to what the Crusaders saw when they first clashed to prayers on its broken marble pavement, than it was when their scutcheons and figures were bright upon its columns. No doubt at first those columns shone as they shone in the fourteenth century when Poggibonsi saw them in their true colours, red and white, and thought them marble, so oiled and polished that a man might see his face in them; and the walls were at first as then

clothed with marble—is not some of it now in the Dome of the Rock?—so fair and clean that they reflected more clearly than a good mirror all that passed in the church.[1]

Of the Crusaders' pillar-paintings only traces intensely interesting and important remain, only patches of the great mosaic series which once enriched every wall of the nave and choir with glowing history and dogma.

But the gaunt place we lately saw was like what "les croises," the crossed-men, found. In such a place Baldwin was crowned at Christmas, 1110, for it was only afterwards that the church was restored and the pictures on their gold ground devised and set by the monk Ephrem.

The wall decorations must have been very splendid: brilliant pictures on a gold ground. These great straight-lined churches with large undivided spaces were made for interior splendour, and their design is not complete without it, grand as they are in simple mass and form.

Our church was covered with a profusion of designs. "My august Sovereign," says Phocas, in 1177, of the Emperor Manuel Commenus, "adorned the immense and magnificent temple with gold mosaics, and the intruded (parenthetic) pastor of the Latins expressed his gratitude by placing the Emperor's portrait in several parts of the church and even above the sacred cave itself."

Very little of that splendour remains; perhaps more patches are hidden by the plaster and whitewash. But we know what it was from the description left by Quaresmius, learned guardian of the church in 1626, as it has been completed with infinite pains and real security by de Vogüé.[2]

The whole scheme was governed by the central faith of the Incarnation. On the west wall was a great Tree of Jesse, the Texts of the Prophets, the Sybil and Balaam in Latin. On the south side-wall half-figures represented the genealogy of our Lord in St. Matthew, descending from Abraham; and on the north the genealogy in St. Luke ascending to Adam. Above these, in a frame

[1] Each column, says Poggibonsi, was "de uno integro et indiviso lapide oleo politae, quod homo potest in eis vultum suum cernere sicut in speculo. Ita etiam in tabulis marmoreis politis, quibus sunt parietes vestiti, quae ita sunt quod homo in eis potest videre omnia, quae sunt in ecclesia, clarius quam in bono speculo."

[2] In *Les Églises de la Terre Sainte*, pp. 67–100.

of foliage and vases, were represented, on the south the seven General Councils, and on the north six Principal Councils of the next rank, all concerned more or less directly with the doctrine of God and of the person and natures of Christ. The decrees of the Councils and other inscriptions were in Greek and Latin. In the choir and transepts were scenes from the Gospel history, and round the principal apse a Greek and a Latin inscription recorded the date and the origin of the gift, both really important; for they mark a notable moment in ecclesiastical history, and one of the brilliant but too short appearances in the Holy Land of European and of English power.

Of the Latin inscription only the latter halves of four hexametres remain, with one name, Ephrem, the Syrian monk who did the work. These remains were unknown to de Vogüé, and in the Greek only one name, the emperor's, can be read. De Vogüé has reconstructed the Greek, of which much more is left, by the help of a Greek pilgrim of the fourteenth cenury. The Latin has since been recovered from the *Pélerinage de Jacques de Verone* (1335), and the *Voyage de Louis de Rochechouart* (1461). The date arrived at is 1169. Usually, as by Baedeker for example, the work is attributed to the munificence of the Emperor alone, according to the testimony, perhaps "too unilateral," of Phocas. But in the inscriptions were two other names besides, those of the emperor and the artist; and they are given as if to mark more than a date. The work, says the Greek, was finished by Ephrem in the reign of Manuel the Emperor, and in the days of Amaury the king, and Raoul, bishop of Bethlehem.

Amaury (1162–1173) was the fifth Latin king of Jerusalem, Godfrey, who would call himself only baron of the Holy Sepulchre, not being counted. Raoul was bishop of Bethlehem and chancellor of the Kingdom from 1155 to 1174. The Latin suggests that these two persons were associated with the basileus in the gift. The king is called "Amicus Largus," the Bishop, "benignus." The emperor, "dator largus," is known from William of Tyre to have been not only wise and courteous, but eminently generous. "Il vaincuit de largesses tous les princes quiconcoues puis furent." This, remember, is a testimony of a Frank and a Latin, who found his own King Amaury a very faithful steward of the Church's dues, but rather more covetous than becomes a king. The bishop was our countryman and a splendid and generous prelate: a Norman

lord from England. William lets us see him *virum utique literatum, sed nimis secularem, Anglicum nationes forma decorum, regi et reginae cunctisque curialibus valde acceptum.* He was more than handsome and popular. It was he who carried in action the Relic of the True Cross. He was "Vaillant homme large et débonnaire," and his direction of the work of Ephrem is little likely to have been without cost to his own revenue.

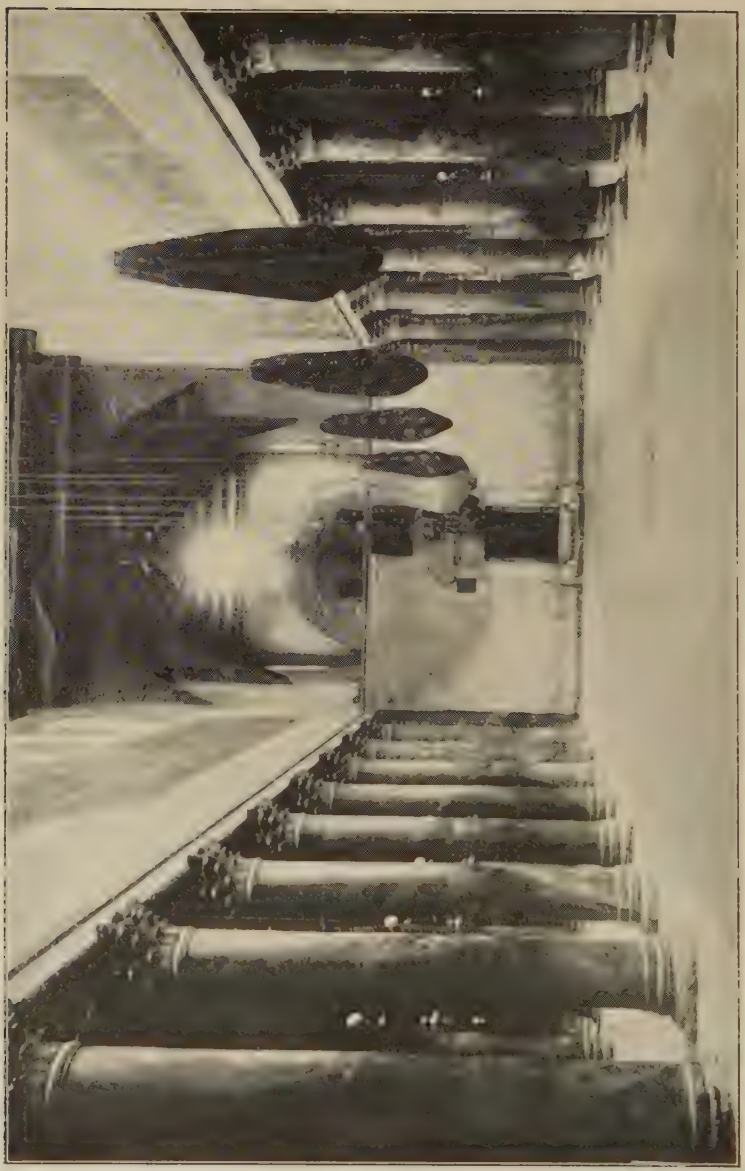
But note, in any case, the significance of the time when this gift was made. Whether or no the magnificence of the basileus allowed a share in the expense to the benevolent King Amaury, or to Ralph the splendid and benign prelate, certainly the work was accomplished with at least the generous contribution of an orthodox emperor in the kingdom of a Latin prince and in the Cathedral Church of a Latin bishop, at a time when Rome and Eastern patriarchates had suffered for a century the burden of reciprocal anathemas. For Pope Leo IX excommunicated in 1050 Michael Cernlareus and all who with him rejected the *Filioque* in the Creed. It was, in fact, a time when the long-threatened breach between East and West had been for a hundred years complete and definite, and, as time was to show, irreparable down to our day. Bethlehem was the spot where hands could be stretched out across the breach. From the care of the Holy Places then, as now, no part of Christendom was willing to be released or excluded. The glowing walls of our church recorded a moment of special hope and charity. The Norman Court of Jerusalam was in friendly commerce, even alliance, with Constantinople, and men's hearts were full of the hope of union in the Faith when they exulted in the completion of the Catholic decoration, the common work of Eastern and Frankish princes, or the splendid gift of an orthodox monarch to a church of the Western obedience.

But if Franks at Bethlehem made a bridge seem possible, Franks in the Fourth Crusade destroyed its very abutments and approaches by the ruthless sack of the imperial and sacred city honoured by councils as second Rome. Since that dreadful relapse there has been no genuine rally, for the work of Michael Palaeologus (1274) was political and transitory, and the Council of Florence, nearly two hundred years later, left us nothing, if you count as nothing the portraits of its chief actors set by Benozzo Gozzoli on the walls of the Riccardi Palace.

There also, it is worth noting, you have a Nativity story—the

[*To face p.* 64.

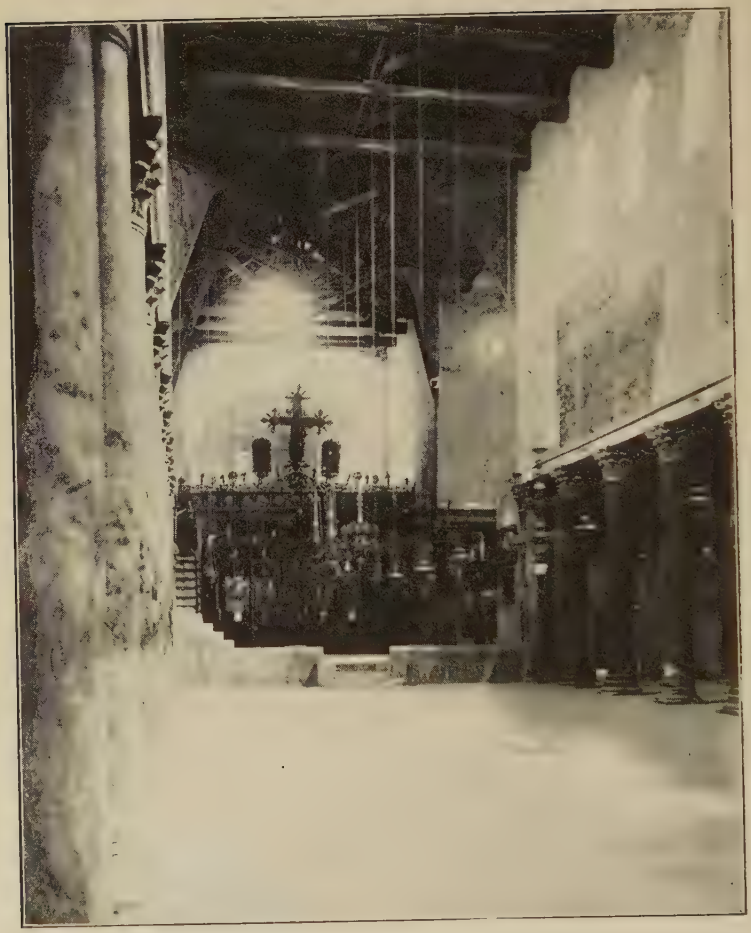
MAIN (WESTERN) ENTRANCE TO THE CHURCH OF THE NATIVITY.



Interior of Church before Removal of Wall.

ENTRANCE TO GROTTO OF THE NATIVITY CONTAINING THE SACRED MANGER.

[*To face p.* 65.



NAVE AND SANCTUARY AFTER REMOVAL OF WALL.

coming of the Magi—for motive of the glittering procession where the young and reverend Emperor John rides superb in line ahead with Cosimo the mould of form, with Castruccio and his hunting-beast, and the Patriarch Joseph every inch an Eastern Sage. But the wise men of East or West had no success that time, and the mosaics began to perish as if in sympathy with hopes—one day to be fulfilled—of the reconciliation of Christian men in the temple of Divine Humility.

In the light of these mediaeval glories, the nave as we saw it lately seemed cold and gaunt and eyeless. But, as I said, we saw it very much as the Crusaders must have seen it on their arrival, with one important exception. For until the other day the poor wall of 1842 closed our view to the East, shutting off apse and eikonostasis (Plate II). To some people this wall seemed the end of the basilica. Beyond that empty rectangle was "The Greek Church," a strange recessed space, with altars and a gilded wall, and guides with tapers ready for a descent by the south lateral stair to the Cave of the Nativity. Even the instructed had to "think away" the wall to see the plan of the whole church.[1]

The "odieuses cloisons" of PP. Vincent and Abel were built right across the church from north to south at the height of the architraves, when the Greek authorities carried out repairs made necessary by the earthquake of 1834, and when they repaved the nave with local stone, the choir or *solea* and *bema* with marble. Of these walls the middle one was removed a few weeks ago, revealing the altar screen and giving meaning to the nave and unity to the interior. The partition walls still close the aisles. The gain secured by this change is plain enough. It is equally plain to most people, and certainly to everyone responsible here, that a gain however great to the harmony or the significance of the interior cannot justify—even by revocation of an earlier state—grave interference with an historic monument, or an offence to the religious sentiment.

But the questions thus raised cannot be faced without first finishing a sketch of the church. For without this the *relative* importance and the merits of the wall cannot be estimated. To

[1] See Plates I–IV. The doorway in Plate III is twelfth-century Crusaders' work. In Plate IV the roof is English oak, sent by Edward IV of England in 1475. The low wall-like structure with steps stands where it did east of the wall removed; it is really the back of a set of seats.

relieve anxiety, let it be said at once that the wall had no structural function, and that its stones have been carefully preserved and—contrary to rumour—bear no inscriptions.

The church then is cruciform, a five-fold nave with apsed end and transept. Some good observers have believed that this plan was of one date, wholly of Constantine or wholly of Justinian. That it is not at any rate all of Justinian is all but proved outright by the character of the columns. A conclusion of that sort cannot be certain in this land of the use of old materials in successive buildings. But it is most strongly suggested. In spite of the instance of the Aksa one cannot easily believe here in the later rearrangement of a whole set of uniform columns. But the exact pages of Vincent and Abel have put many discussions out of date. For an exhaustive examination of the evidences this book, very rich in documents not only of the church but also of the Sacred Place for which the church was built, may as well, since it cannot be passed over, be consulted first of all. One entirely convinced by those writers—with a few particular reservations—can here only give their conclusions, with some heads of their grounds and some indication of the Constantinian plan they reconstruct.

We shall then be ready for the case against the change just made—a case most needing an answer in England.

Pères Vincent and Abel base their argument for the composite character of the church on five groups of evidence: the two sets of proportions in the western and eastern portions; differences of masonry; the confused state of the façade; certain features of the higher parts of nave and transept; and, what is most impressive and interesting, the fact that the cave itself of the Nativity, the spot for which the whole church was built, does not "answer" to any significant point in the present plan. The star on the floor of the cave is on the axis of the church, but that is all. It does not correspond in any way to the apses. The arguments from masonry need drawings or careful study on the spot. But any one can see the interruption of masonry-courses in a straight joint where the transept apse meets the wall of the nave. From the eastern edge of the apse the masonry runs continuously into the straight wall.

The conclusion reached from these and other data is that the nave and aisles ("cinq nefs") are Constantinian, the eastern portion of the time of Justinian, all the columns of Constantine.

The four supports of the crossing, each consisting of two pillars

engaged in a rectangular pier, are equally Constantinian. They show no later "Byzantine" feature. It is conjectured that they were moved by Justinian to their present position from an atrium attached to the first church. The western surfaces of these pillars were embedded in the modern wall and, now they are uncovered, show mediaeval letters and designs. The eastern part of the building might appear at first a trefoil apse like the cella of Saints Sextus and Cecilia in Rome, the trilobed chamber in the Palace of Meshatta in Moab, or the more easily seen crypt of St. Lawrence at Grenoble. The position of the pillars in line with those of nave and aisles beyond the crossing shows that it is really a choir and transept accommodated to an existing quadrangular building.

The reconstruction of that building is not difficult, broadly, to follow. But we have no early description of the church, because, when it was built, everyone knew what a basilica was like.

Eusebius, in the panegyric of Constantine, only says that the emperor adorned this and the other two greatest sites with buildings, and, in the *Life*, says of the Empress Helena, who in this place had appropriately the chief honour as founder, that the devout lady raised at Bethlehem a temple and left the sacred birthplace resplendent with her gifts and the emperor's.

This church was a rectangle with a single apse springing directly from the wall. The side walls and colonnades of our church were continued eastward to the length of seven, or, perhaps more probably, six bays; and the altar stood over the holy cave and near the chord of the apse. The lower part of the east transverse wall can be seen from the stair descending from the Latin church to the Cave of St. Jerome. The entrance to the Cave of the Nativity was by central steps in front of the choir, like those in the "Confession" or Martyr's Tomb in many ancient churches. Such, we may suppose, was St. Helena's church, but it was all paved with marble, and marble covered the walls above the colonnades and in the aisles. Treasures of marble of that and later dates have, no doubt, been taken from the church by the builders of later temples, and by the people of Bethlehem.

Justinian's work was occasioned by damage done in the Samaritan revolt (521–528). A fanciful story tells how he ordered a complete rebuilding, but he seems to have been satisfied with the cruciform end, the replacing of the atrium by a narthex, and the rearrangement and embellishment with mosaics of the front. How Persians

and Moslems—all but Hakim, the wild man of Cairo—spared the place; how the church has been served since the Middle Ages by Austin canons, by priests from Sarum, or at least sent by Bishop Walter, by the great Order of St. Francis; how later there is a debatable history of the debates of Latin Greeks and Armenians, must be read in the books.

We keep space for a word about the eloquently abused wall. The Latins, no doubt, had low cancellae of open marble or woodwork with return stalls, and, in justice it must be said, that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as we learn from a plan by Bernardino Amico, the choir space or *solea* was enclosed on front and sides by walls about six feet high. Was not our wall the western one of these? The answer is in the negative, because its twenty feet stood further west imbedding the pillars, and it was different in form, for the old one was double, with staircases within. The date, 1842, was on our wall, and this date is agreed upon by all the parties interested. Its purpose, the Greeks say, was to shut off a practicable church from the nave, then used by Turks as a market. The need it met has now passed away, and as the nave was not in fact used for any separate worship—it became, says Fr. Meistermann, merely a haunt of loafers and old-clothes men—there is no ritual loss in the return of the church to its normal appearance.

The case is strong for leaving untouched every feature of an ancient building. We know the harm done in former years by a passion for the restoration of original states. It may be urged that even 1842 is a date; that the ugly and meaningless wall once had a meaning if never a grace; that it also was a page of history and ought not to be torn out. The argument against restoration is valid in many cases, probably in by far the greater number. When a new Norman end is given to a place like Christchurch, when a Jacobaean or a Caroline screen is removed from an old Gothic church, we do well to be angry. A Gothic church can bear a good deal of accumulation, and the dates of Wickham, of the English Bible or the Restoration, are great enough for record in the history of England. But the Church of the Nativity Cave, when it is also the oldest church standing in use in Christendom, is too august a monument to sacrifice to the sentiment of 1842, and a Constantinian basilica is too simple to accommodate and too rare to be littered with every page of history. Here the anti-restoration plea is strong, but not strong enough. The church is too good and

the wall was too bad. A week ago I saw pages of the *Arabian Nights*, manuscripts of Victorian date, in the Mosque of Gaza, and the floor is heaped with the cartridges the Turks stored there. Is that Gothic church to show for ever its classic pillars from an earlier temple, split just as they were split in 1917, and may not the rubbish of an enemy small-arms explosion be swept up? I take the emergency wall at Bethlehem to be little more venerable, and its occasion less worthy of a monument.

We must use, every now and then, a little commonsense. The wall spoilt the church, made it miserable and eyeless; and not this church or that, but the most important basilica of Christendom and the shelter of perhaps the holiest place. The disfigurement was not blameless enough to be kept for history of an episode at the loss of obscuring the broad history of the whole place.

If you need a memorial of the repairing efforts of the last century, you have it in the marble pavement of the choir, and the over high level of the nave floor. And if you seek a monument of the condition under which worship needed walls for mere protection, look around to the blocked windows, and the tiny entrance eloquent of fears and disorders, passed, as we hope, for ever away.

I have called ours the most important Christian basilica, and so it is if we take everything into account, even excluding the sacredness of the site. The four vast and glorious patriarchal churches of Rome have been rebuilt or gravely changed. In these and the other lovely basilican buildings the persistence of the Roman tradition of art conceals the fact that, immensely rich as they are in memorials of their past, these churches, as we see them, are far later than Bethlehem. St. Clement-above-Ground is of the Middle Ages, with the cancellae perhaps preserved from the much earlier church beneath it—itself hiding a more ancient temple. Until the discovery of its own buried predecessor, St. Clement was thought the type of a Constantinian basilica, as it still is, with St. Sabina, St. Mary-across-Tiber, and other beautiful Roman churches, the model of basilican arrangement.

The Church of the Nativity really stands alone, as old as St. John Lateran and much less altered, as lovely in that form as any church on earth.

But it has not the kind of loveliness to bear every bulky intrusion—every trifling memento. I confess I would go farther than part with the wall. I would move the splendid font from its

insignificant position; I should be content to see a new carpet replace the celebrated slant-cut one in the Armenian chapel—text of so many lectures on religious rivalry, cause of so many sad head-shakings of our innocent soldiers. I would have those famous windows cleaned which the Greeks own and the Armenians will not have touched—or is it the other way round? The truth is that, profoundly impressed as we all ought to be with a sense of the delicacy and immense complication of a long and tragic history, I do not think that the greatest respect for ancient rights need make one value unnecessary records of ancient discords. And when we come to the milder if still lamentable modern instances, it is difficult to prize the memorials of petulance, even when it rises to the dignity of violence, described sometimes with the weight of detail fit for a great battle story, and horrifying till one learns that "the indescribable scene of carnage and bloodshed" ended without any fatal hurts in the list of injuries "signed by two prominent Jerusalem doctors, as well as by the physician of the Municipality." If I must one day go over these stories, old and new, let it be on a day not spent in or near the Cave of Bethlehem.

When one is tempted to be interested in the strife of tongues and hands, or scandalised at it for lack of sympathy, it is good to remember that we are at the focus, not only of rival traditions and ceremonials, but of endless humble prayers. A tall young Abyssinian walks there every day just now from Jerusalem for long and silent devotions in the crypt. The saints of all creeds meet at Bethlehem in act or will; and we may hope that what has been reverently done will cause pain to none of these.

I returned to these bookish exercises from the jolly highlands of North Judaea, the society of a famous division, the homely spectacle of shell-bursts on an enemy line, and a glimpse of endless heights which then, so lately, remained to be taken and held. It seems a childish thing to think of masonry and mosaics when armies are conquering and a new and happier history begins.

But the soldier who does the real work is the last to think meanly of anything that belongs to the Sacred Places and the Holy Land, now, by his skill and courage, to be made free and safe for men of every creed.

A VISIT TO THE RUINED CASTLES OF THE TEUTONIC KNIGHTS.

By Dr. E. W. G. Masterman.

The Teutonic Knights, the latest established of the three military-religious orders of the Crusades, had their headquarters in a fertile and beautiful district some ten or twelve miles north-east of Akka. In 1229 their Grand Master acquired by purchase the stronghold of Montfort which the members of the Order rebuilt, made their head-quarters, and renamed Starkenberg. This they held for forty-two years until the fortress was besieged, captured and destroyed by the great Moslem warrior Bibars in 1271. The ruins are now known as Kul'at el-Kurein. Three and a half miles south of this ruin is Kul'at Jeddin the remains of the castle, Castellum Judin. Between and around these fortresses the Teutonic Knights appear to have owned a great deal of land: an estate of unusual fertility and value, even for Northern Galilee.

In company with some friends I made an expedition there in July, 1907, the notes of which, fully written out at the time, may even now be of interest to readers of the *Quarterly Statement*. The district is quite off the ordinary tourist routes, and very few English people have visited it.

We left Safed July 12 at noon and, after passing Meron, entered the mountainous region of Jebel Jermak—the highest mountain in Palestine. About 3 p.m. we reached the isolated and lofty village of Beit Jinn, a stronghold of the Druzes and, like many such places, hard of access by horseback on every side. A mile beyond Beit Jinn we had a good view of the Bay of Akka with Carmel behind, and shortly afterwards we commenced an exceedingly rough descent into the isolated and fertile valley of el-Bukeiah. During the last half-hour of the descent we could see below us the little village of el-Bukeiah lying in an oasis of green trees and irrigated gardens. This place is peculiar, not only in its extremely mixed inhabitants—Christians, Moslems, Druzes and Jews, all in about equal numbers—but more especially in the fact that here the Jews have, apparently for centuries, been owners and tillers of the soil. As soon as we entered the village to water the horses at the copious village fountain,

old patients of mine appeared and were most insistent that we should visit their houses. Time however did not allow of this. We now proceeded down the wide valley—el-Bukeia, *i.e.*, the "little" Buk'a—passing some springs in the valley bottom. We left the village of Suhmāta on our east, crossed a wooded ridge to the west and soon entered the fertile district around Teirshīha. This is one of the largest villages in these parts and occupies some slightly raised ground on the southern end of a large plain. To its south it is dominated by a lofty hill crowned by the small village of Sheikh Mejāhed. The whole of this district appears to be given over to the cultivation of tobacco, and around Teirshīha itself are many acres of tobacco fields. The land is heavily manured with goats' dung and the tobacco is said to be of a specially fine quality. Here we arrived half-an-hour before sunset and were most courteously and hospitably entertained by the Greek-Catholic priest.

Next morning (July 13) we set off at about 6 a.m. to visit Kul'at Jeddin, an hour's ride westward down the well-wooded Khallet Mattīlah. Thick mist at first obscured the distant prospect. Through this mist we saw to the south the village of Yānūh upon a hill 2,200 feet above sea level. Here was once situated one of the smaller castles of the Teutonic Knights. Now, though but three miles from Teirshīha, it belongs to the Sanjak of Akka, while Teirshīha is under the jurisdiction of Safed. Our first view of Jeddīn as we approached it from the north-east was very striking. Two lofty towers, with many lower buildings encompassing them, crown the summit of a low hill, and a four-sided ruined wall with circular towers at intervals surrounds the whole collection of buildings. As we approached over level moorland the hopeless state of ruin and the utter desolation of the place became more apparent. We entered the broken embattlements and tethered our horses among the out-buildings. Many of these last are of post-Crusading times, being the work of the famous chieftain Dhaher el-Omer, but the massive central towers belonging to the keep are undoubtedly Crusading work as are, too, the great bulk of the foundations. Some of the stones of these buildings have apparently been taken from an earlier Roman building. Although not protected by any natural defences, except in the south where the descent to the wady bed is abrupt and steep, it is evident that this fortress was once a strong one capable of a stout defence. It was, too, within signalling distance of Akka where, as we know, the Teutonic Knights had

establishments and held out for twenty years after the loss of all their possessions in the mountains.

We now retraced our steps and when close to Teirshīha turned north to the Christian village of Mālia on a hill 1,800 feet above sea level, about a mile and a quarter north of the former. Although this prosperous little village has extended beyond its first limits the main part occupies the site, and is built within the foundations of the Crusading "Château de Roi." Traces of the massive corner towers with embossed bevelled stones are clearly visible. This place was purchased, with its surrounding possessions, by the Teutonic Knights in 1220. The village is very picturesque. As one winds up the steep ascent to the entrance one almost expects to encounter the guardhouse, the moat and the drawbridge which must once have been there. The streets are clean and the houses apparently roomy and comfortable.

We left there at 9.30 a.m. and soon realized that we were following a carefully made ancient road: the rock had been elaborately cut away in places—a work ascribed to the Teutonic Knights. At about 10 a.m. we had a fine view of Jeddīn some four miles to the south-west, and just afterwards we commenced to descend into the great Wady el-Kurn. To our west on the sea lay ez-Zib, the ancient Achzib (Josh. xix, 29, Judges i, 31), at the very mouth of Wady el-Kurn, whilst further north could be seen the commencement of the Rās en-Nakūrah—the famous "Ladder of Tyre." Our guide then led us off the direct path to show us what was, according to him, the quarry from which the Knights had drawn their supply of stone. In the midst of this quarry stood a most interesting small fort or watch tower. What remained was a solid block of rock about 15 feet high and perhaps 30 feet square. There were steps on one side and on the top, besides the remains of walls, there was an opening into a large and deep cistern hollowed out in the substance of the block of rock. From here a wide view of the surrounding country was obtainable, and far beneath us we could see the ruins of the ancient Montfort. Evidently, this is a surviving part of an outlying fort constructed partly to guard the highway and more particularly as a watch tower for the castle which was itself so shut in on all sides by hills that from its own walls it could receive no warning of the distant approach of hostile forces. Descending from here down a steep valley we soon turned aside into an exceedingly slippery though clearly artificially

constructed causeway running to the right of the highway towards the eastern extremity of the ruins. Our guide led us to a spot which, as he suggested, was not improbably the secret entrance to the castle. Here in the hillside was a deep fissure, originally perhaps partly natural, through which it was possible to ride on horseback in single file. The natural rocks meet above and there are two spots in this passage where guards might without difficulty be concealed. The path comes out on the north site of the hill where there is a semi-precipitous descent of 500 feet to the bottom of the Wady el-Kurn, and progress this way is now impossible. We now, therefore, retraced our steps into the side valley by which we had approached the castle, and leaving our horses with the muleteer some way down the hill, where an old but now long disused bridge crossed the valley, we made a very steep ascent on foot to the castle itself—a rough scramble up the bare hillside. The ruins occupy a narrow ridge running roughly from east to west: on the north and west sides is the deep Wady el-Kurn, and on the south is the deep side wady down which we had come, which joins the Wady el-Kurn at the foot of the castle hill. On all three sides the hill slopes are extraordinarily steep, indeed so much so that standing on some of the projecting ruins of the old battlements the descent looks perpendicular—a sheer drop. On the east side the castle hill was joined to the mountain ridge behind by a narrow neck of land, but this has been artificially cut away, leaving a deep fosse. (It may be added that this fosse is not the place referred to before. This ancient entrance is some 25 yards to the east of the fosse.) The natural strength of this site is great, and when the fortifications were complete may well have been considered impregnable. The highest point of the hill was occupied by the keep—the key of the castle—which stood immediately to the west of the great fosse; it was built of gigantic blocks of beautifully cut stone. This has been deliberately destroyed, the massive blocks strewing the hillside over a large area. It is said that here stood the Treasury of the Order and that the archives, now preserved in Berlin, were kept here. From the keep the castle stretched along the narrow ridge, its walls occupying the edges of the steep hillside. It is difficult from the existing ruins to make out anything definitely of the original plan, but it is clear that there were three successive defensive posts: the lower outworks, the great mass of the castle and the handsome inner keep. In the midst of the ruins is a curious octagonal

monolith column eight feet high, which appears to have been the centre of an octagonal hall. One of the side columns, sculptured like the centre, is still in site; the rest have all crumbled away as their foundations have subsided down the hill slope. This Gothic hall was probably the chapter house of the Order.

What a romantic site this is! One's mind travels back to those old Knights who with such dauntless bravery, though, as we now think, such mistaken zeal, clung to their last possessions in the "Holy Land." Jerusalem had long been lost when they took possession here, and during those closing years, as fortress after fortress fell to the ruthless onslaught of the great Egyptian Mameluk Bibars, it must have required a bravery and a tenacity of purpose, which we cannot but admire, to have hung on to that precipitous height. They were ever closer hemmed in. Akka was within easy reach, but they scorned to save their lives by a base retreat. The war was one without quarter and so here, as at Safed and many other such a spot, they were at last slaughtered to a man in the defence of a cause already hopelessly lost. To-day the high hillside, covered with green brushwood, shuts in the scene of this tragedy, and as one sits by the fresh running stream in the Wady el-Kurn and looks up at the ruins which rise tier above tier amidst the leafy green, one looks upon a picture of combined beauty and romance unequalled in Palestine. By this stream is a beautiful Gothic ruin, about 100 feet long, probably the remains of a chapel or convent built perhaps when the Knights at first enjoyed a somewhat peaceful possession of their estate. In a later age it was for a time used as a mill.

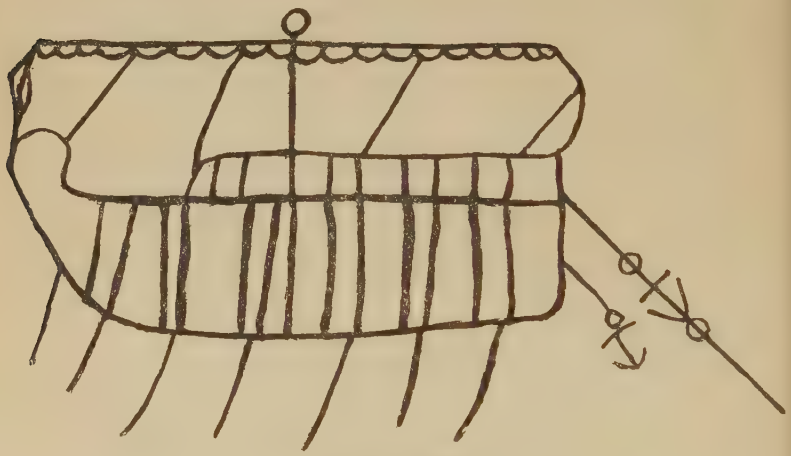
After a bathe and lunch at the stream, we started back to Safed. We ascended from the Wady el-Kurn to the plateau, 700 feet, in twenty-five minutes. Soon after 3 p.m. we passed Malia, traversed some valleys between chalky hills, crossed the valley of El-Bukeiah and ascended the steep hillside opposite to Suhmāta, which is said to have been once a Crusading site. Here, between two distinct portions of the village on opposite hillocks, we found a party of youngsters enjoying themselves in the filthy water of the village pool. A steep descent of half-an-hour brought us to the bottom of the deep Wady Habīs, one of the tributaries of the Wady el-Kurn. In another hour we passed Hurfaish and in an hour more, we passed Sūsā, and just as the setting sun was illuminating the long chalky hill of Safed, we caught sight of our destination, which we reached two hours after dark.

A GRAFFITO OF A SHIP AT BEIT JIBRĪN.

By H. H. Brindley, M.A.

The graffito, representing a sailing vessel at anchor, which is here illustrated by a reproduction of a rubbing, was found by Prof. R. A. S. Macalister, and to him I am indebted for calling my attention to it, and also for the following account of its provenance :—

"The block of limestone bearing a graffito representing a ship was found in the excavations of the Palestine Exploration Fund at Tell Sandahannah, near Beit Jibrin, in 1900. It was put aside to



Graffito of a Ship.

be cast and drawn, but by some oversight it was thrown out, with a quantity of rubbish, when the camp was broken up, and was not missed till too late. Some years afterwards I revisited Beit Jibrin in order to examine the newly discovered tomb of Apollophanes, and, suddenly remembering the lost graffito, I took the opportunity of visiting the old camping ground on the chance of finding it. Though the site had doubtless been ransacked by fellahin on the chance of finding unconsidered trifles, and though the attentions of dealers' agents had trained their eyes for antiquities, the ship had escaped notice, and it was the very first thing I saw when I stepped on to the familiar spot. Needless to say I bore it off, and

it is now in the Fund Museum. The date of the graffito must be that of the last city of Marissa, *i.e.*, between, say, 200 B.C. and 200 A.D."

The length of the hull over all is 88 mm., and from masthead to keel is 53 mm.

It will be seen from the illustration how rough the work is, but the artist seems to have had a fair conception of the ordinary one-masted craft of his time. Thus, the mast is carried right down to the keel, whereas a landsman would have stopped it at the gunwale, as remarked by Mr. Alan H. Moore on similar correct treatment of the mast of a vessel portrayed as a graffito on a brick of the quay steps at Utica, and described by him as "A Little Ship of Carthage" in *The Mariners' Mirror*, Journal of the Society for Nautical Research, Oct. 1911, p. 280. The Beit Jibrîn ship is a one-masted craft with square sail, a type which certainly existed during many centuries in the Mediterranean without undergoing important change, and was typical of the centuries to which the graffito is ascribed by Prof. Macalister. The artist probably had in mind the ordinary coaster fitted with both sail and oars of his time. We may assume, from the form of the hull, that she is anchored by the stern. That this was practised in certain manoeuvres, or to help in riding out a gale, we know from Polyaenos and Appian, quoted by Cecil Torr in *Ancient Ships* (Cambridge, 1894), p. 74, and also from St. Paul's shipwreck (ἐκ πρύμνης ῥίψαντες ἀγκύρας τέσσαρας, Acts xxvii, 29). Torr also refers to stern anchoring in one of the ships on Trajan's column. The continuation of the cable of the aftermost anchor is probably an error of execution, but the ring on the crown may have been a real fitting of the time for assisting tripping. The cheniscus ornamenting the stem is of the design so commonly seen in Greek, and especially in Roman vessels. The superstructure, suggesting a poop extending two-thirds of the ship's length, may indicate either the permanent deck-house, such as is seen in the relief of a merchant vessel of *c.* 200 A.D. from ports on the Tiber, and reproduced by Torr (*op. cit.*, fig. 29), or the wicker work or tent-like protection for the ship's officers, which we know was often fitted. The paired vertical lines on the hull may represent the ribs—it seems more or less accidental that in the main they correspond with the poles or stanchions of the superstructure—or they may be intended for portholes for the oars, for the latter are certainly represented by the slightly curved lines below the

keel, which originate suggestively between the two members of each pair of vertical strokes. There are other examples of oars shown only below the water line or the keel, their continuation upwards to the portholes being entirely omitted; for instance, in certain Greek vases of 600—550 B.C., and in ships in mosaic in S. Apollinare Nuovo at Ravenna, *c.* 600 A.D. (Torr, figs. 14, 15, 39). In a number of representations of Roman ships there is, running along the hull about half-way up the freeboard, a kind of panelling which appears to have nothing to do with the oar ports; sometimes it seems really constructional, but Jal, in his *Glossaire Nautique*, article "Galère," looks upon these panels as occasionally merely ornamental, *e.g.*, in a carefully executed ship on a tomb at Pozzuoli. It is just possible that the Beit Jibrīn artist had this panelling in mind when he put in these vertical strokes which, as they are, resemble frapping ropes more than anything else, though these they can hardly be. From their being in pairs the safest guess is that they mean portholes for the oars. The ring at the masthead is one of the simpler forms of ornament borne there; we see it, for instance, on an Alexandrian coin of 67 A.D. (Torr, *op. cit.*, fig. 27). The furled sail is probably the usual square sail of the time, though the yard being as long as the hull suggests a lateen. When this latter became common in the Eastern Mediterranean we do not know: a well-known early representation is seen in the mosaic of the pharos of Alexandria in St. Mark's, Venice, which may date from the ninth century. The braces are shown, and the duplication of the strokes here is evidently intended to indicate their tackles. These braces and the yard being hoisted parallel with the hull of course suggest the square-sail rather than the lateen. The three single strokes from hull to yard are clearly brailing ropes, the κάλοι of the *Odyssey* and Herodotus (Torr, *op. cit.*, p. 81), of which there are numerous representations in Greek and Roman works.

There is nothing in the little Beit Jibrīn ship—possibly a portrait of his own vessel done by a sailor to amuse a group of inland children—which was not already known to us as characteristic of Mediterranean craft of the centuries suggested by Prof. Macalister for its execution. The graffito is too slight and crude to tell us anything new, but it is of interest in confirming what more finished work shows, and in being, with little doubt, a representation of the ordinary coasting craft of the time.

"RECONSTRUCTION IN JERUSALEM.[1]

"THE dramatic incidents of the Peace Conference and the later issues of the war have a little obscured the great and silent work that has for many months been going on in Palestine. In a sense that has never yet been fully realized by scholars, theologians, or politicians, and perhaps only instinctively by the people themselves, the city of Jerusalem is the heart and pulse of the world, and this not alone for Christians. For Jerusalem is the centre of three great religious traditions — the Hebrew, the Muslim, and the Christian—whether Greek, Latin, Coptic, Armenian, Maronite, Ebionite, or Abyssinian. Almost everything in Jerusalem has a triple significance, and there is hardly anything in the city that is not holy for somebody.

"It is difficult to imagine a sharper contrast between the Jerusalem of man's imagination, whether he thinks of it in terms of Mohammed's vision and ascent to Heaven, of Solomon's grandeur, or of Christ's Sermon on the Mount, and the actual Jerusalem left by the Turk. The latter concrete Jerusalem is a picturesque but filthy medieval town, with sprawling suburbs; ill-timbered, unwatered, with roads inconvenient and leading nowhere; and, for the rest, a Government that no longer functions and a city whose inhabitants are cut up into innumerable jarring sects.

"Over all these incongruities the war has placed a new system of government—a government by soldiers. Soldiers are busy men, and they have no time for detail except that of war—for them the military need is paramount. But it has always been the distinction of the great soldier and the great administrator that he has known how to pick his men. One of the finest pieces of expert work ever carried out was Napoleon's 'Survey of Egypt.' This magnificent work embraced hygiene, engineering, archaeology, arts and crafts, music—all the things that make for the finer life of a people.

[1] The following article, which appeared in *The Times* of Feb. 5, is here reprinted, by the kind courtesy of the Editor, in the belief that it will be of general interest to readers of the *Q.S.* who do not file the paper.—ED., *Q.S.*

"*The Napoleonic Vision.*

"It is of good augury for the future of Palestine that the three men with whom has rested the choosing of the experts—General Sir Edmund Allenby, the Commander-in-Chief, General Sir Arthur Money, the Chief Administrator of Palestine, and General Storrs, the Governor of Jerusalem—have had some of the Napoleonic vision; they have known how to pick their men, and their hope has been, and is, to do for Palestine a little of what the French did for Egypt a hundred years ago.

"The work of reconstruction to be done in the Holy City and its outlying districts after the essential requirements of sanitation, health service, engineering, and scavenging was divisible under several heads:—

"(*a*) The rehabilitation of workshops and hand-industries.

"(*b*) The preservation of the actual Holy City itself.

"(*c*) The replanning of the new town to the north of it, or rather the getting of the new town into some sort of order.

"(*d*) The reform of the municipality and the creation of a machinery for carrying this out.

"(*e*) The preparation of new by-laws to meet the needs of building and housing reform, the preservation of Palestine antiquities, archaeological remains and excavations, and the education of the citizens to an understanding of these laws—in short, a civic policy.

"(*f*) The creation of some body, some trust, possibly of an advisory nature, and free of the old religious or nationalist prejudices that shall guide, and, if need be, stand up and fight for the amenities of the Holy City.

"General Storrs summoned to his aid Major Ernest Richmond to report upon the Haram esh-Sherif, the Temple enclosure; Mr. C. R. Ashbee to make a special report upon the Arts and Crafts and the civic needs of the Holy City and its surrounding area; Mr. W. H. Maclean, the Engineer of the city of Alexandria, to prepare a town plan for the new town, in order that the new shall not encroach upon the old. These three have worked as a sort of special commission, and to them have been added Mr. W. A. Stewart, the Supervisor of the Technical Schools in Egypt, who is reporting on textiles, looms, weaving and dyeing. Major Richmond has subsequently been appointed Director-General of Public Monuments in

Palestine, and Mr. C. R. Ashbee Civic Adviser to the City of Jerusalem. The beginning of a new civil administration has thus been laid.

"*An International Committee.*

"Perhaps of all the reconstructive undertakings in Jerusalem itself the most interesting and significant is the 'Pro-Jerusalem Committee.' This is the creation and special child of General Storrs. The Committee is advisory and consultative, and it is likely to have considerable say in all questions that affect housing and civic reconstruction. Its unique interest is its internationalism. Muslim, Christian, and Jew pull together. Not even in the enlightened days of Frederick II—'Stupor Mundi'—in the 13th century, or in that still more brilliant period of the great Khalif Mamun in the 8th century, was this achieved. The Governor takes the chair, the proceedings are in French. At his right hand is the Grand Mufti, the spiritual head of Islam; on the other side of the table are the head of the Latin Christians, the Greek Patriarch, or his representative; the Armenian Bishop; the head of the Jewish community; Père Abel, one of the most distinguished of French Orientalists and antiquaries, and some of the leading Italians. There are also eminent American and English experts. The Pro-Jerusalem Committee indeed, called into life by the Governor, has before it the unique task not only of gaiding, but of unifying the Holy City after centuries of misery and misrule.

"*Work to be Done.*

"In its main outlines the work before our administrators may be marked out as follows:—

"1. The isolation of the ancient city from Solomon to Suleiman the Magnificent; the preservation of its wall enceinte and its precious buildings.

"2. The laying out of a new town outside this with proper alignments, and on the basis of the Maclean plan, for the doing of which a special survey is at present being made.

"3. The designing of a park system. For this Mr. Ashbee has prepared a scheme, beginning with the 16th-century wall enceinte, in which all the views and beauty spots of the ancient city are jealously preserved.

"4. The re-establishment of the Arts and Crafts, the re-opening

of the Súks or bazaars, which implies the setting up of looms and workshops of all sorts.

"5. The safeguarding especially of the Holy Places of Islam, the 'Dome of the Rock,' the Al-Aksah mosque, and the remaining buildings of the Haram esh-Sherif.

"6. The establishment of a sound system of technical schools, possibly some development of the admirable Zionist school of Bezaleel. What the administrators here are looking forward to is the re-establishment of the workshop traditions through municipally aided teaching workshops by means of an apprenticeship system.

"7. The revival of the Palestine Survey associated with the names of Warren and Kitchener, and the planning of a future method of excavation. Some of the best brains, English, French, Italian, American, are at work on this, and the collective opinions of men like Sir Frederick Kenyon, Prof. Flinders Petrie, Mr. Hogarth, Sir Arthur Evans, M. Lacaut, Père Abel, Prof. Reisner, now excavating at Gizeh, and Mr. Fisher of the University of Pennsylvania, are at present being gathered together for submission to the Chief Administrator and the Commander-in-Chief. The idea is to take the experience of Egypt based on French regulations, add the collective wisdom of European and American scholarship, and 'go one better' for Palestine."

A NABATAEAN INSCRIPTION CONCERNING PHILIP, TETRARCH OF AURANITIS.

By Joseph Offord, M.R.A.S.

In the "Fourth divisional Volume, Section A, Nabataean Inscriptions of the Princeton University Archaeological Expedition to Syria," there is a text from Sî', a large city, in Roman times, upon the western slopes of Hauran. The annexed text is the Hebrew transliteration of Prof. Enno Littmann which is of much interest to students of Palestinian history, because it provides the first epigraphical record of Philip (II) Tetrarch of Trachonitis and other East Jordanic districts, mentioned in Luke iii, 1, and by Josephus.[1]

[1] This Tetrarch must not be confounded with the other Herodian of that title of Luke iii, 19, and the other Gospels.

בשנת xxxiii למרנא
פלפס עבדו ותרו בר
בדר וקציו בר שדי
וחנאל בר משכאל ומנע ב[ר]
גרמו בומס צלם גלשו בר בנתו
אנעם בר עצבו אמנא שלם

In the year 33 of our lord
Philippos; there was made by Witr son of
Budar (?) and Kasiu son of Sudai
and Hann'ēl son of Masak'ēl and Nuna (?) son of
Garm, this altar of the statue of Galis the son of Banat (?)
'An'am son of Asb (was) the sculptor. Peace!

This inscription is cut upon a pedestal shaped like an altar and having a capital sculptured with lions' heads and wreaths. There is a slight uncertainty about the date as the Nabataean symbol may read 23 instead of 33, which would make the memorial's date A.D. 19–20 instead of 29–30. The south-west Hauran, wherein the monument was discovered, was assigned to Herod in 23 B.C., and was included in a region of Syria called Auranitis by the classics. Herod's inscriptions are dated in accordance with the era of the Seleucides, while it will be noted the new found text is not. Philip II who is the person concerned was a son of Herod by a lady of Jerusalem named Cleopatra, and he had married Salome daughter of Herodias with whom, unlike other members of his family, he lived happily. Upon Herod's decease he was appointed as ruler of the Tetrarchy of Gaulanitis, Paneas, Batanea, Auranitis and Traconitis. His rule endured from 4 B.C. until A.D. 33, about the twentieth year of Tiberius, that is for a term of 37 to 38 years. Josephus tells us he was a kindly governor and popular with his people. This probably accounts for their dating events by his regnal years, thus confirming the historian, as did the citizens for other Nabataean princes at Bosra and Petra. These Semites, east of Palestine, were, it may be surmised, not much Hellenised and so not quite understanding the meaning of Tetrarchos called Philip "our lord" thus avoiding the incorrect מלכא. The continuance of Philip's rule of his Tetrarchy until his death in comparative independence is confirmed by its coinage, the pieces bearing the Greek legend Phillipos Tetrarch,

with a design of a tetrastyle temple. This numismatic evidence commences with coins struck in his twelfth regnal year. Upon the other face is placed a portrait of either Augustus or Tiberius, and hence it may be termed the Roman side.

The temple displayed upon the Syrian side has been supposed to represent the celebrated edifice erected by Herod at Paneas, a city whose name this Philip changed in honour of Augustus to Caesarea Philippi, Καισάρεια ἡ Φιλίππου, so called to distinguish it from Κ. Στρατῶνος on the coast. De Saulcy, however, when treating of Syro-Palestinian coins, considered the building depicted to be the magnificent sepulchre Philip constructed for himself at Beth Saida in Galilee, which town he renamed Julias.

As the building is shown upon the, as yet, earliest known coin of Philip's—one of his twelfth year's—as completed, this idea appears somewhat improbable, and Madden and others have not accepted it.

It is worth noting that the Apostle Philip came from Beth Saida, and therefore may have been so named in honour of the Tetrarch.

Turning now to the geographical interest of this inscription, Luke terms Philip "Tetrarch of Iturea and Trachonitis." Jerome translating the Greek into Latin writes *Traconitis regio sive Ituraea*, whilst other classics enumerate the divisions of the princedom as given above; also, Iturea as a name for a country is quite unmentioned before the first century A.D. As Luke does not give any of the other districts excepting Trachonitis we cannot decide which, if any of these, Iturea is substituted for, and it may be a duplicate title for Trachonitis itself.

There may be a simple explanation of Luke's language which would also account for the absence of a fixed territorial domicile for the Itureans until subsequent to our era. It is that, up to Luke's time, and probably later, the Itureans were nomads, wandering about from one district to another; when Luke wrote they were evidently temporarily settled in Philip's dominions, perhaps in Trachonitis. But some scholars think Iturea, in this instance, stands for Paneas which was near the northern boundary of the Tetrarchy.[1]

An inscription discovered as long ago as 1745 certainly shows the Itureans just before Philip's time as inhabiting the Lebanon:

[1] Idumean soldiers' names such as Beliabus, Jerombal, Monimus and Hanel are both Aramaic and Arabic in derivation.

Idem jussu Quirīni adversos Itureos in Libano monte castellum eorum coepit.[1] This evidence tends to show that these North Itureans were descendants of the "Ia'turi of the Mountains," whom Assurbanipal mentions in the annals of his expedition from Mesopotamia through Patin to Tyre and Phoenicia. If so they may be identical with the Jetur of the Pentateuch. After mentioning Laodocea of the Lebanon Strabo refers to this mountain region and the Itureans; he says they and the Arabs were "bandits." This Laodocea was found by Sachau at Tel Nebi-Mendes at the end of Lake Cades. This fixes the Iaturi mountains of the cuneiform records, which Assurbanipal says he reached after crossing the Orontes and the land of Araki, or Yaraki. This last is the *massif* on the right Orontes bank now Er-Ribe. Eusebius, quoting Eupolemus, says the Jetur was one of the tribes David fought east of the Jordan.

From these accounts of the Itureans it will appear that the bulk of them may at the time of Luke's gospel have been bivouacking in any one of the Tetrarchy divisions, but that the evidence suggests their being in that of Paneas.

With regard to Philip and the Itureans having a connexion with ancestors named Iaturi or Jetur (Gen. xxv, 15) it is a curious coincidence that another text found by the Princeton explorers in Trachonitis has a name יטור, Yatur, or Yetur, Greek Ἰάτουρος; also Ἰάτουρος in other texts found in Hauran. The Biblical יטור was son of Ishmael, and so of Arab descent, and one of the Nabatean texts is from Umm ej-Jemel, and therefore on the Arabian borderland.[2]

[1] For this inscription (which concerns Quirinius of the Census in Luke) see Van de Mieden, *De P. Sulpicios Quirino de Censu Syrie de Itureis.* It is probably a duplicate of text in *Ephemeris Epigraphica*, 1881, pp. 537–542.

[2] In the well known inscription of Masub (see *Revue des Études Juives*, XII, p. 109), these words occur: אדן מלכם האדר פעל נעם. This is the Semitic rendering of a Ptolemaic royal protocol of the year of Tyre 73 = B.C. 274, viz.; κυρίου βασίλειου μεγαλόδοξου εὐεργέτου. M. Halévy rendered it "Lord of Basilies." It is quoted here partly in reference to our note upon the title of "King of Kings," see *Q.S.*, 1916, p. 105. [The Phoenician is translated "Lord of Kings, the noble, the beneficent." G. A. Cooke, *North Semitic Inscriptions*, No. 10, p. 48.]

ARCHAEOLOGICAL NOTES ON JEWISH ANTIQUITIES.

By Joseph Offord, M.R.A.S.

(*Continued from Q.S.*, 1919, p. 38.)

LVI.—*Sanballat in Josephus and the Elephantine Papyri.*

The results arising from the mentioning of Sanballat as an official of influence in Palestine at the date of the appeal for the rebuilding of the Jewish shrine at Yeb in the Elephantine papyri, in its relation to the fact that Josephus (*Antiquities*, XI) brings down his date to the time of Alexander and Darius Codomanus, have not apparently been adequately noticed.

It is now evident, as was suggested by scholars before the discovery of the papyri, that Josephus had mixed up events of a century previous with those of Alexander's advent into Palestine. Whilst, however, the new evidence contradicts Josephus' chronology in dating the action of Sanballat in reference to Samaria, it confirms his statement that this official, who is stated to have been an Horonite, was sufficiently powerful to be able to raise several thousand men, and to appoint a relative, Manasseh, as high priest of the rival Gerizim temple of Samaria.

Long before the finding of the Egyptian manuscripts, Wellhausen, in his *Israel. und Jüdische Geschichte* (p. 148), said that Samaria was the seat of a Persian Government district, and that Sanballat was one of such officials, terming him a Persian satrap. The numerous Samaritans among the Elephantine community may, therefore, have induced the Jews, in their claim for restoration of their temple, to include Sanballat's name as one likely to give consent, as he was not averse to a shrine in Samaria. Until the Elephantine manuscripts were found, the Jewish temple at Leontopolis was generally considered to be so exceptional that its existence afforded no excuse for the continuance of the one at Gerizim after the Jews returned from the Captivity to Jerusalem.

But the existence of the Yeb temple has minimised this view of the question. The idea that until the desecration of Zion's temple by Antiochus, no Jew would admit the possibility of orthodox

Jehovah-worship being carried on elsewhere, has been refuted by Elephantine evidence, proving that the hierarchy at Jerusalem permitted it, with restrictions apparently as to a certain class of sacrifice in the temple to be re-erected.

This may explain the fact that Eupolemus translates *Argarizin* as "Mountain of the Most High." The misstatement of Josephus, it would seem, is due to his anxiety to convince his readers that Alexander the Great had authorised the Gerizim temple, and the mixing up of Sanballat with the creation or continuance of such a shrine, and appointment of its high priest in Alexander's time, throw doubt upon Josephus' chronology and veracity; but the recent recovery of the Elephantine documents proves that his statements as to Sanballat's powerful opposition are probably accurate, though his dates are wrong.[1]

In connection with these remarks, it is apropos to mention that the discovery among the papyri from Tebtunis that there was a town in the Fayoum called Samaria, may be a corroboration of Josephus' statement that Alexander ordered Sanballat's soldiers to follow him into Egypt, as he wished to present to them grants of land therein, adding that he gave such to them in the Thebaid, and considered them as a guard for their district. That they were anything to do with Sanballat's force in the previous century is impossible, if their settlement really took place under Alexander. But now we know that the Jewish garrison at Elephantine communicated with Sanballat, the coincidence is curious.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF PUBLICATIONS.

Watson Pasha, by Stanley Lane Poole. A Record of the Life-work of Sir Charles Moore Watson, K.C.M.G., C.B., M.A., Colonel in the Royal Engineers. John Murray. London.

To record adequately in 248 pages a life so full of constant and consistent effort as that of Watson Pasha is well nigh an impossible task. The uncoloured facts presented with such meticulous care by the Pasha himself, set the *motif* which the biographer must needs

[1] It should be remembered that Deut. xi, 29, "Thou shalt put the blessing upon Gerizim," gave a reasonable excuse for considering its summit to be sacred to Jehovah.

follow. They speak for themselves, although the reader at first scarcely realizes the fulness which lies behind their brevity. Sensationalism never entered into the scheme of his life, and his emotions lay buried beneath a calm which found its joy in the sincerity and success of his mission. He once said: "It doesn't matter to other people what I think or believe; the only important thing—if 'important' is the word—is what I did; so please leave my inside alone and look only at my work."

A cadet at Woolwich, he set himself simply to come out always first, and to this end leased the inestimable quality of pure application to his other high attainments. This became a life principle which was to him easy. As a record of supreme character the book bears bald but infinite testimony, and although the reader suffers some disappointment, it is amply evident, on closer thought, how much the biographer was bound by the shackles of Watson's self-abnegation to which indeed reference is frequently made. To speak of Watson's life as laborious would be misleading; it was too well ordered, his service was too whole hearted, and his outlook too optimistic for that. Hard work was shorn of the fatigue and worries of smaller minds by his infinite faith in well-doing.

Prominence is given to his work in Egypt during the early days of British influence and occupation, which culminated in his appointment as Governor-General of the Red Sea Littoral at Suakin. In these chapters there are unfolded many interesting pages of the tragedies of that critical period. His correspondence adds much to our knowledge of his life-long friend General Gordon. These two men, unlike in their temperament, strikingly alike in their purpose, made common cause, and between them there lasted sincere attachment and admiration. The names of many others well-known to our readers, appear in the order of their military and administrative capacities while striving to consolidate Egypt. Such names as Wilson, Warren, Conder and Kitchener are added, and their associations link the history of modern Egypt with that of the Palestine Exploration Fund. Scientists and scholars, men of peace yet gallant and active soldiers, they formed a group difficult to match in breadth of understanding; their policy, at first so woefully ignored by the Home Government, eventually triumphed. Watson's last great public work was while acting as British Commissioner-General to the St. Louis Exhibition. The biographer writes: "His powers of organization had certainly been well tested,

since everything connected with this stupendous task had to be initiated by himself, nothing had been forgotten, and the arrangements made were working as regularly and smoothly as though they had been in existence for years." In recognition of his distinguished services, he was created K.C.M.G. in 1905. The St. Louis success "led soon afterwards to work of a similar nature in connection with the Franco-British Exhibition of 1908."

In his many personal interests, the P.E.F. ranked perhaps, only next to the R.E. in his whole-souled devotion to its welfare. To one who knows something of Watson's incalculable services to the P.E.F., covering a long period during which its interests were his daily thought, the biographer's brief mention makes but scant recognition. But here again, it is more than probable that similar complaints may be valid in every other branch of his activities. There is simply not enough room to get everything in.

A quotation from one of Watson's letters, written three years before his death, reveals the abiding principle in the life of a man who for three score years and ten applied himself to the filling of so many widely varied positions of first importance, all the while striving to maintain the same high standard set in his cadet days. This soldier, engineer, administrator, archaeologist, and geographer wrote in his simple manner:

"I have had, and have, a very interesting life, but as you know, the world is a very interesting place if you keep your eyes open. It rather annoys me when I hear men who have retired from the army complain that they have nothing to do. There is plenty for everyone to do if they would only do it."

One thinks over this remarkable career; wondering in what order of precedence should his many vocational attainments be put. But who can assess relative values so varied? One thing can however be said: few men have been so endowed with such talents, such balance of mind, such sympathy, patience and optimism; still fewer have called these qualities into such constant and disinterested service.

A. C. D.

Palestine of the Jews, Past, Present, and Future, by Norman Bentwich. 6*s*. net. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., Ltd.

This well written little book gives a most readable account of Zionism from the standpoint of a British Jew, and will be read

sympathetically by all who are interested in Palestine. Perhaps many who have read elsewhere all about the Jewish Colonies will find the Appendix—just a quarter of the whole volume—entitled, "The Redemption of Judaea," the most interesting of all. Here we have short sketches of actual experiences on the advance of the British forces towards Jerusalem, the author serving at that time in the Egyptian Expeditionary force. The description of the Wady Guzzeh is very interesting. It is "for the most part a dry river bed hollowed between steep banks. In the summer a thin silvery streak of water runs between the stones, and here and there widens to a pool fringed with reeds and oleanders. The Wady Guzzeh is a narrow ditch in comparison with the Wady el-Arish, which sprawls out at its mouth a fair half-mile in breadth. But, for that reason, it is more headlong. At Shellal, where the Turkish army had taken up its main position to meet our advance in March, it falls in regular rapids . . . . And here, as at the more famous Shellal above Assuan, British engineers will one day construct a dam to bring new fertility to the country around. Here our amateur archaeologists, to wit a squadron of Anzac cavalry, lighted on a splendid mosaic pavement, with a design and an inscription which proclaimed it Byzantine of the early centuries of the Christian era. The pavement was lying half exposed in one of the Turkish prepared positions."

His account of Beersheba, too, will be of interest to those who remember this place as a site left to the wandering bedawin. The town was a half Germanized settlement, where, above the ramshackle and tortuous native quarters, had been erected a suburb of spacious buildings, wide streets planted with eucalyptus and acacia trees, and an imposing railway station and depôt. The biggest building, the Government House, was found on our arrival to have been converted into a great military hospital for Turkish wounded.

There are many Zionist propaganda books now being issued to the public, and among them the present volume, for compactness, for moderation in tone, and for general interest, will take a leading place. The author has, according to the *Jewish Chronicle*, just been appointed Acting Chief Legal Adviser to the Palestine Administration

E. W. G. M.

Round about Jerusalem, by the Rev. J. E. Wright. 6s. net. London: Jarrolds.

This book consists of "extracts from letters written home from Jerusalem," which unfortunately the writer "has had no opportunity of revising." There is no doubt that had the writer had any idea of publication, he would have written much more informingly. As the Bishop of London remarks in the Foreword, the letters "give a clear and vivid account of what may be seen round about Jerusalem." The accounts of the various religious ceremonies to be seen in Jerusalem at Eastertide, and the picturesque Samaritan Passover on Mount Gerizim are good. There are sketchy accounts of journeys, but almost all upon well beaten tracks. Petra has a chapter to itself, but it is the merest outline of what the writer might have told us had he had the chance of revising his letters before publication. It may be news to some of those who have not been to Jerusalem for some years that it has been possible—since Captain Parker cleaned out the silt—to walk right through the Siloam Tunnel. It may be added that the full page illustrations from photographs are exceedingly good, especially a striking view of the monastery of Mar Saba.

E. W. G. M.

Concerning the Colonization of Palestine. A four page pamphlet, accompanied by a coloured map, entitled: *An attempt to record graphically the visions of Ezekiel xlvii and Zechariah xiv as to their presumptive scheme of Irrigation and Distribution of Hydro-electric Energy in the Holy Land*, by Albert Hiorth, C.E. Kristiana, Norway.

This is an extraordinary attempt to show how the visions of Ezekiel can be fulfilled literally by the making of a tunnel "under Jerusalem" from the Mediterranean to the Dead Sea—say thirty-seven miles long—at the cost of eight million pounds, and an additional four millions for "power plant, factories, canals, and other works for the irrigation and salt works." In addition to this, two canals are to be "built parallel with the River Jordan for irrigation." The writer incidentally ascribes the distribution of the seasonal rainfall in Palestine "to the deforestation of Lebanon," states that the soil of Palestine "is of the very best," and has a scheme for reclaiming the southern parts of the Dead Sea by means

of a dam from the *lisan* westwards, and for "the development of the vast deposits of asphalt in the plains of Sodom and Gomorrha." The climax of wonder, however, is the elaborately coloured "map," which seems to be a piece of pure imagination. We fear, if the "colonization of Palestine" and the "fulfilment of Prophecy" are dependent upon such schemes as these, the outlook is not hopeful!

E. W. G. M.

In and About Palestine with Notebook and Camera, by the Rev. A. Forder. Religious Tract Society. 1919. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Mr. Forder is well known to English residents in Palestine as an intrepid traveller in out-of-the-way regions of Palestine and Syria. His knowledge of the two countries and their trackless ways made him an object of suspicion to the Turkish authorities at the beginning of the War, and he suffered a more or less harsh imprisonment, first at Jerusalem, and later at Damascus, from which the entry of the British troops last autumn released him. Mr. Forder in this, his latest book on Palestine, describes carefully the many interesting places he has visited, and his experiences in travelling about the country. He appears to have met with uniform good treatment and courtesy from the people, no matter how remote from civilization. The main interest of the book lies in the account of these out-of-the-way places and people, and the chapters dealing with Petra are perhaps the most interesting in the book. In his description of Jerusalem Mr. Forder is less happy. These chapters are very terse, and minor sites are described at the expense of greater ones; while the unfortunate omission of any reference to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre cannot but lessen the value of a book about Jerusalem and the Holy Land. The illustrations add much interest to the book. They are all good, and some are, we think, unique.

Estelle Blyth.

The Book of Judges, with Introduction and Notes. Edited by the Rev. Prof. C. F. Burney, D.Litt. Rivingtons. 1918. 21*s.*

A very cordial welcome must be extended to this work, which has long been expected, and which, as was only to be anticipated from the known scholarship of the editor, would prove a notable contribution to Old Testament studies. Running to over 130 pages of introductory matter and 328 pages of text, provided with a number of most serviceable maps and plates, this great commentary

is really very much more than what its title suggests, and, one may be allowed to add, is by no means of excessive price, all things considered. Dr. Burney has, in fact, seized the opportunity to make the commentary almost a veritable Thesaurus of the subject-matter, and has striven to give it a comprehensiveness and thoroughness which one hardly looks for in a work of this kind. Accordingly, it cuts itself off rather sharply from all ordinary commentaries, and can be especially commended because of its wealth of content and information upon a great variety of subjects which are otherwise distributed over books and periodicals outside the reach of the ordinary reader. Especially valuable in this connection are the various extended additional notes, *e.g.*, on Yahveh as originally an Amorite deity, on the early identification of Yahveh with the Moon-god, on human sacrifice among the Israelites, the origin of the Levites, and so on.

As regards the character of Dr. Burney's commentary, I would draw attention to the fact that the effort has been made to treat the contents on the basis of the fullest and latest researches. He has devoted very considerable attention to the topograpical notes—he has himself travelled in Palestine—with the result that there are few disputed geographical questions to which he has not been able to make some instructive contribution—whether we agree with him or not. Attention must also be drawn, not merely to the maps themselves, but also to the introductory notes on them (pp. 498 *sqq.*), including remarks on the modifications which ancient Biblical names have undergone. Upon this department of the commentary so much pains has been lavished—for which the late Prof. Driver set the precedent in his second edition of his *Notes on the Hebrew Text and Topography of the Books of Samuel*—that many pages could be devoted to a review of it alone. It must suffice, therefore, to stress the fact that future topographical studies cannot afford to ignore Dr. Burney's arguments and conclusions.

Upon the general archaeological side, too, the commentary is rich. In addition to the plates, which bring material illustrating Assyrian scribes, and episodes in the myth of Gilgames (in order to give effect to the lengthy excursus on "The mythical element in the story of Samson)," Dr. Burney has been careful to draw attention to what excavation and archaeological research in Palestine have to say upon the period of the Judges. The attention paid to Babylonian and Assyrian illustrative matter is one of the

outstanding features of the work. Besides the numerous notes, where this material is used for etymological or philological purposes, the admirable and lengthy treatment of "External Information bearing on the Period" furnishes the most comprehensive and valuable survey of that subject that has as yet appeared. No one, unless he has some knowledge of the great, scattered, often ill-arranged, mass of material can really appreciate the labour involved, and it must be pointed out that for the pre-monarchic history of Israel, or rather Palestine, this section, running to over 60 pages, is of the greatest importance to the historical student. While, on the one side, Dr. Burnley has presented this most valuable survey of the external evidence; on the other side, he has not failed to handle the very complex and serious internal difficulties in the Old Testament which have forced some reconsideration of ordinary conceptions of Israel's earlier religious and secular vicissitudes.

Dr. Burney, however, puts far more confidence in the Biblical data than I, for one, can admit, and it is precisely the external data themselves which convince me that the difficulties are more intricate than he himself is inclined to recognise. But although I believe, on the basis of an all-round study of the narratives, that the Book of Judges is almost negligible as an historical source for the pre-monarchic period, and although I do not deny either some recollection of early events, or even the presence of early fragments, I am fully persuaded, with him, that the religious development of Israel has not been correctly estimated by modern critics, and cordially agree with him that the religious ideas underlying the book and animating the writers are of permanent value.

While, therefore, I think that the *historical* value of the Book is very much less than modern scholars recognise, Dr. Burney's own views are often not a little revolutionary, and his conjectures often ingenious, though not convincing. Biblical students, in fact, have to make up their minds whether to pursue a sort of rationalistic historical criticism, the primary task of which is the recovery of *pre-monarchic history*, or whether a deeper and more comprehensive study of the sources, as literary documents, ought not to be pursued more completely in order to throw more light upon that *later period* to which they belong and which they reflect.

Certainly the fact must be faced that Old Testament scholarship has reached a new and very critical stage in its development. Many things that once seemed clear are now disputable; old problems

have taken a new form, and familiar pre-conceptions must be reconsidered. Psychological and religious-critical modes of enquiry are now no less important than the textual, historical, and archaeological, and the very fact that we are living in an age of profound crisis, impels one to approach the problems of the Old Testament—which reflect the history of a great crisis in ancient Palestine—in the light of to-day; and, *vice versa*, to reconsider the problems of the day in the light of the newer knowledge thereby drawn from the Old Testament. It is this newer, more comprehensive, more deep-searching, and more psychological study of the Old Testament which is supplementing the earlier more academic and ultra-rationalist criticism of the Old Testament; and as a prelude to this newer and more humanist type of study—also more in accord with the aspirations of the masses—Dr. Burney's admirable commentary will be welcomed and valued everywhere.

S. A. C.

From the Garden of Eden to the Crossing of the Jordan, by Sir William Willcocks, K.C.M.G., late Director-General of Reservoir Studies in Egypt, and Consulting Engineer to the Turkish Government in Mesopotamia. Cairo. 5*s*.

This book consists of lectures, the result of thirty-four years of enquiry in Biblical lands. The author and Prof. Sayce have been fellow workers in the same field of archaeological research, and Prof. Sayce writes an Introduction, in the course of which he points out that Sir William Willcocks has approached his problems along a very important path. As a practical engineer and expert in irrigation, he has brought to light fresh material and, what is more noteworthy, fresh methods of solution. "Untrammelled by traditional interpretations and critical theories or assumptions, he has attacked them with a combination of fearless disregard of accepted 'conclusions,' and with a combination of robust common sense and expert knowledge."

In his first chapter, on the Garden of Eden, the author suggests that the "mist" (*Ed.*) which went up and watered the whole earth was "free flow of irrigation" as distinct from "irrigation with one's foot," or the like. The third and fourth chapters contain many interesting observations on Egypt, and the author shows how a combination of external troubles and low Niles would produce some of the familiar "plagues" of Egypt. The Israelites in Goshen,

on the other hand, escaped the plagues because of the fresh water springs of the land. Another interesting view is that Moses was so named, not because he was drawn out of the water, but for his success in drawing water out. The author remarks that the Turks, under German guidance, found abundance of water in the Sinaitic Peninsula in many places which had previously been considered almost waterless.

Finally, Sir W. Willcocks urges that there are two keys to the unlocking of the difficulties in the account of the Wanderings in the Wilderness. The one, that the "three days' journey" was to Kadesh Barnea, and the second that the Law was given both at the Sanctuary of Kadesh Barnea, in the wilderness of Paran, south of Judah, and at Kadesh of Meribah in the wilderness of Zin, south of Edom. "Standing on this ground the difficulties conjured up by many of the Higher Critics melt away, and the confusion in the order of events is in the comments of the critics and not in the Bible itself."

Enough has been said to indicate that the book is interesting and stimulating; while, as regards the sentence just quoted, the "Higher Critics" would doubtless agree that, although the author has recognised how very serious are the internal difficulties in the accounts of the Exodus—difficulties which are not merely "conjured up" by them—his own keys do not remove them, but are sufficiently arresting to indicate that no very simple solution is likely to meet the case.

S. A. C.

We have received from "the Military Editor" a copy of the first volume of the *Palestine Pocket Guide-Books*, published by *The Palestine News*. It states that it is "based upon the well-known enemy publication, Baedeker's *Palestine and Syria*, and augmented by numerous editions." While it is only fair to say that the precise words are explained by the fact that the book is dated 1918, there are various improvements in the way of maps and plans, which, together with numerous additions from the works of Conder, Besant, and others, give it an independent value of its own. The book was eminently adapted for the purpose—that of giving members of the E.E.P. a good account of places in Palestine already familiar or likely to be so, and, for its conciseness and clearness, will be of more permanent utility.

S. A. C.

THE

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

NOTES AND NEWS.

The Fifty-fourth Annual General Meeting of the Palestine Exploration Fund was held in the Library of the Society, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, London, on the afternoon of Friday, May 30th. An account of the Meeting, which was held for business purposes only, is given below (p. 106).

The series of articles by Dr. E. W. G. Masterman, entitled "Hygiene and Disease in Palestine in Modern and in Biblical Times," is being reprinted, with a Preface by Prof. Alexander Macalister, and will be on sale immediately. These valuable and important articles deserve the careful attention both of students of the Bible and of all who are interested in modern Palestine. The future of Palestine, which we all hope will be happier and brighter than before the War, will so eminently depend upon the good health of its inhabitants, and in particular, of the settlers who have not had time to become acclimatised, that Dr. Masterman's publication is sure to find a warm welcome and supply a want. Fuller particulars can be had on application to the Assistant Secretary at the Offices of the Fund.

We are glad to be able to report that the post of Honorary General Secretary for Palestine, vacant through the resignation of Dr. Masterman, is now filled, Dr. Percy D'Erf Wheeler, who is

shortly proceeding to Palestine, having kindly agreed to represent the interests of the Society there. Also Miss Frances E. Newton has kindly consented to be the Local Honorary Secretary for Haifa-under-Mount Carmel.

During the past half year the Syria and Palestine Relief Fund has accomplished a vast amount of valuable work. The distress prevailing among the inhabitants has been appalling, but it has been wisely met by the relief workers as far as human sympathy and the funds at their disposal made it possible. Many thousands have been fed, clothed, and nursed back to life, work has been provided, and hope kindled in the hearts and minds of those who have lost every earthly possession. General Allenby has recognised the good work performed by the fund and the great need which still exists. All those competent to express an opinion unite in saying that the next six months will be the critical time. The fund is expected to come to a close in the autumn, but in the meantime the efforts of its supporters need to be doubled.

An interesting account of a visit to Damascus is published by Capt. H. W. Evans, O.B.M., in the *Bedford Times* of April 26th.

An Edinburgh lady gives her experiences of life in Palestine hospitals under Turkish rule in the *Scotsman*, May 10th.

The University Extension Board of the University of Liverpool organised a course of lectures on Palestine. The lectures (admission to which was free) dealt with the Physical Geography and Space-relations of Palestine (Prof. P. M. Roxby, B.A.); The Original Jewish Settlement and Development of Palestine (the Bishop of Warrington); The Contact of Palestine with the West (Prof. R. C. Bosanquet, M.A.); Islam in Palestine (Mr. H. K. Selim); The Re-Settlement of Palestine by the Jews (Mr. Bertram B. Benas, B.A., LL.B.); The Economic Prospects of Palestine (Prof. P. M. Roxby, B.A.); and The Political Prospects of Palestine (Mr. Bertram B. Benas, B.A., LL.B.). In the first lecture of the series, on May 6th, Prof. Roxby, after making an appreciative reference to the activity and interest manifested by Mr. Bertram B. Benas in promoting the course, briefly explained its aims, character, and plan, which sought

to give the fullest information possible upon the problems that centred around Palestine and its future Jewish national aspirations. Christian sentiments and the economic interests of indigenous Moslem inhabitants presented difficulties, which, however, were not incapable of being harmonised, and the best solution would be one that would satisfy the claims of all who have a worthy interest. These various standpoints would be dealt with in the course from the various respective outlooks, and the course would provide a synthesis of the whole question, full account being taken of Jewish national achievement and hope for the restoration of the Ancient Homeland of Israel. Prof. Roxby proceeded to deal with the limits of Palestine, its geological history, the soil conditions and their relation to the future development of the country, and the records of the climate of Palestine in their bearing upon its national vicissitudes. In the second lecture, on May 6th, the Bishop of Warrington traced the influence of the political development of Palestine on the mind and law of the Hebrews. (From the *Zionist Review*, June, 1919.)

The Rev. G. Horner kindly draws our attention to the misprint "Eudoxian" for "Eudocian" on p. 58.

The American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem which has been closed since the end of 1914 on account of the War will re-open under the directorship of Prof. William H. Worrell, of Hartford, Conn. With him will be associated Prof. Albert T. Clay, of Yale University. (*The Homiletic Review*, April, 1919.)

Dr. Lane-Poole's "Life work of Sir Charles Watson" is reviewed in *The Royal Engineers Journal* (March, 1919), which speaks very appreciatively of the way in which the author has accomplished his task. It says "All Sir Charles Watson's friends, the few survivors of his early days, the many acquaintances of his 'retired' but most active life—all will welcome this book. They will find probably some items new to them, and, throughout, will revive the recollections of a delightful personality. But, to those also who never knew the man, the book will be interesting." After summarising his activities, it says "His work for the Palestine Fund was very good, but in a different line from any of his previous energies." Sir Charles Watson, with his high character and great natural

abilities, had it in him to be a leading Orientalist, or to reach the highest rank in diplomacy. He chose to be a soldier. "Studying the lives of the great men in history and their characteristics," says the review, "we are not to ask why distinguished men did not gain greater distinction than they did. After enquiring into the characteristics of great men, the student will not be too critical, but only too thankful, whenever Providence gives us such a thoroughly lovable, first-class, good all-round man as Watson Pasha."

In 1876 the Society published a volume of Photographs of Biblical Sites, by Lieut. H. H. Kitchener, R.E., F.R.G.S., containing twelve photographs taken by Lord Kitchener during the time he was at work on the Survey of Western Palestine, together with a short description of each written by himself. Some of the views taken are no longer obtainable, as new buildings have sprung up everywhere, altering or marring old sites. The descriptions, though so short, are charmingly written, and show what a strong feeling Lord Kitchener had for the Holy Land. He took the keenest interest and pleasure in the preparation of this, his only book, as his letters show, though the actual publication of it was left in Sir Walter Besant's hands, as Lord Kitchener returned to Palestine before it was in proof. There are about forty copies of this book still unsold, and these can be had on application to the office of the Society, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W., at the original price of one guinea, postage extra.

Fifty Years' Work in the Holy Land: A Record and a Summary, 1865–1915.—Under this title the late Colonel Sir C. M. Watson, K.C.M.G., etc., gave an entirely new revision of that *résumé* of the work of the Fund which has been issued from time to time in order to furnish readers, and—especially—new subscribers with a synoptical account of the more important aims and achievements. Such accounts have been published in 1870, 1872, 1886, and 1895, so that twenty years have passed since the last revision—years during which most valuable excavations have been undertaken, notably at Gezer. The year 1915 being the Jubilee of the Palestine Exploration Fund a new edition was especially appropriate, and old subscribers as well as new will find that the book by the late Chairman of the Executive Committee gives an admirable bird's-eye view of the

work of the Fund. Although space allows the book to provide only the bare outlines of what has been done, the material is so arranged as to include all information necessary to explain the different expeditions and excavations. A map is also appended containing all the important names and sites. Chapters are written on the reason why the P.E.F. was established; the foundation of the Society in 1865; the preliminary reconnaissance of Palestine, 1865–6; the explorations at Jerusalem, 1867–70; the expedition to the Desert of the Exodus, 1869–70; the survey of Western Palestine in 1871–7; the survey of Eastern Palestine in 1881–2; the geological expedition and survey of the Arabah in 1883–4; the excavations at Lachish, Jerusalem, etc. (five chapters), the survey of Southern Palestine in 1913–14; the Palestine Pilgrims' Texts, and a concluding chapter on the administration of the Society. There are two appendices: the chronology of the P.E.F., and the chronology of the publications. The book is published by the Committee of the Fund, and can be had on application to the Assistant Secretary. Price, 3*s.* 6*d.* Postage extra.

The Committee have brought out a new edition of the ($\frac{3}{8}$ in. to the mile) Map of Western Palestine, of which the original edition has been for some time out of print. It is in two large sheets, and will be, primarily, a travellers' map. The roads and railways constructed since the original survey have been added. For the sake of clearness, only the modern names are given. The hill shading is in a lighter tint for the same reason. All the country beyond that actually surveyed is shown in outline only. In a few years it may be possible to add much of this in a further edition. In the meantime, this is the clearest map and the easiest to consult of any yet issued by the Society. The price of the complete map is 7*s.* 6*d.* If desired, the map can be mounted on linen to fold, or on rollers, 15*s.* 6*d.* Subscriber's price, 6*s.* unmounted and 13*s.* mounted. Postage extra.

The Library of the Palestine Exploration Fund contains many duplicate volumes, including standard works by Robinson, Ritter, Stanley and others. They may be had separately, and with a list, the price of each volume, has been prepared, and can be obtained on application.

Recent additions to the Library, by purchase, include:—

A Brief Record of the Advance of the Egyptian Expeditionary Force under the Command of General Sir Edmund H. H. Allenby, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., July, 1917, *to Oct.*, 1918. Compiled from official sources by Lieut.-Col. Pirie-Gordon and published by *The Palestine News.*

The list of books received will be found below, pp. 104, 105.

The Index to the *Quarterly Statements* previously published included the years from 1869 to 1892, and the need for its continuation to a more recent date has been greatly felt. During the year 1911, the Committee decided to supplement the old Index by one which should include the completion of the work at Gezer, that is to say, from 1893 to 1910. The laborious task was undertaken by Mr. (now Prof.) Dickie, whose familiarity with the matter dealt with, and conscientious exactitude, have now enabled the Committee to publish it with confidence. Price in cloth, 5*s.*; unbound, 3*s.* 6*d.*

The Committee will be glad to communicate with ladies and gentlemen willing to help the Fund as Honorary Local Secretaries.

Plaster casts of the raised contour maps (large and small) of Jerusalem have been prepared and can now be had on application. The horizontal scale of the large map is $\frac{1}{2500}$ and the total dimensions are 5 feet by 4 feet 3 inches. The remains of the city walls and streets discovered on the Eastern and Western Hills are indicated in red lines. This map will be a most valuable help to the study of Jerusalem topography. Price £3 3*s.* Case and packing extra. The scale of the smaller map is $\frac{1}{10000}$ and the size 20 inches square. Price without addition of early walls and streets £1 5*s.*

It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but they are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers.

Subscribers who have not yet paid will greatly facilitate the Committee's efforts by sending in their subscriptions without further delay, and thus save the expense of sending out reminders.

Subscribers to the Fund are reminded that, whilst the receipt of every subscription and contribution is promptly acknowledged by the Assistant Secretary, they are now published annually. A complete List of Subscribers and Subscriptions for 1918 is published in the Annual Report.

Golgothà and the Holy Sepulchre, the last work of the late Major-General Sir Charles Wilson, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., F.R.S., D.C.L., LL.D., etc. In this work our former Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund has brought together for the first time all the evidence which the most exhaustive research enabled him to collect bearing on the subject of these Holy Sites; and probably no man living had at once so intimate a knowledge of all investigations in the modern Jerusalem and so complete an acquaintance with what has been written about the Sites from the time of Constantine onwards. The price of the work (demy 8vo) is 6*s.*, by post 6*s.* 4*d.*

A reprint of *Names and Places in the Old and New Testaments*, by the late Mr. George Armstrong, is now on sale, price 6*s.* The book was out of print for some years.

A complete set of the *Quarterly Statements*, 1869–1910, containing some of the early letters (now scarce), with an Index, 1869-1910, bound in the Palestine Exploration Fund cases, can be had. Price on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.

The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index, bound in cloth, is £10 10*s.* A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.

The Museum at the office of the Fund, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W., is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 4, except Saturdays, when it is closed at 1 p.m.

Subscribers in U.S.A. to the work of the Fund will please note that they can procure copies of any of the publications from the Rev. Prof. Lewis B. Paton, Ph.D., Honorary General Secretary to the Fund, 50, Forest Street, Hartford, Conn.

The Committee have to acknowledge with thanks, among other journals and books, the following :—

A Guide-book to Northern Palestine and Southern Syria ; and a Guide-book to Central Syria, Lebanon and Phoenicia : Vols. III and IV of the Palestine Pocket Guide-books ; published by the *Palestine News*, 1918 and 1919.

The Annual of the British School of Athens : No. XXII, Sessions 1916–17, 1917–18 ; The Mosques of the Arabs in Constantinople, by F. W. Hasluck ; etc.

The Expository Times.

Studies.

The Scottish Geographical Magazine, April : The Turkish Problem.

The Irish Theological Quarterly, April.

The Zionist Review.

The Hebrew Christian Alliance Quarterly, April.

Sunrise, by the Scripture Study Publishing House, Manchester, 1918.

Palestine.

Appeal for the Liberation and Union of the Hellenic Race, by W. P. Reeves (1918).

The Jewish Quarterly, Jan.–April : Kedesh-Naphtali and Taanach, by Prof. Julian Morgenstein ; etc.

The Journal of the American Oriental Society, Feb.–April.

The American Journal of Philology, Oct.–Dec. 1918.

The Biblical World.

The Homiletic Review.

Art and Archaeology, April, 1919.

The Story of Bible Translations, by Max L. Margolis, Philadelphia, 1917.

The Jerusalem Year Book, 1919. By the late H. M. Luncz.

Journal Asiatique, May–June.

Sphinx, Vol. XXI, I, Gaston Maspero, by Gustave Jéquier, etc.

The Committee will be glad to receive donations of Books to the Library of the Fund, which already contains many works of great value relating to Palestine and other Bible lands.

The Committee desire to acknowledge with thanks the following contribution to the Library :—

From Mr. C. T. Wilson :—

Peasant Life in the Holy Land.

The Committee will be grateful to any subscribers who may be disposed to present to the Library any of the following books :—

Sir J. G. Frazer, *Folk-lore in the Old Testament: Studies in Comparative Religion, Legend and Law.* (Macmillan, 1918.)

Duc de Luynes, *Voyage à la Mer Morte* (1864); published about 1874.

K. von Raumer, *Der Zug der Israeliten.* (Leipzig, 1837.)

Lagarde, *Onomastica Sacra* (1887).

The Antonine Itinerary—an edition by Parthey and Pindar was published in 1847 at Berlin. An edition in Russian is also extant, but is therefore not available save to the few who know that language.

For list of authorised lectures and their subjects, kindly write to the Secretary.

Whilst desiring to give publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they do not necessarily sanction or adopt them.

FORM OF BEQUEST TO THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund; and I direct that the said sum be paid, free of Legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge for the same.

NOTE.—*Three Witnesses are necessary to a Will by the Law of the United States of America, and Two by the Law of the United Kingdom.*

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

OF THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

The Fifty-fourth Annual General Meeting of the Palestine Exploration Fund was held in the Library of the Society, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, London, on the afternoon of Friday, May 30th. The Meeting was held for business purposes only. Among those present were the Rev. Canon Dalton, the Rev. Prof. George Buchanan Gray, Commander D. G. Hogarth, Dr. E. W. G. Masterman, Dr. D'Erf Wheeler, Colonel S. F. Newcombe, R.E., F. W. Percival, Esq., and J. D. Crace, Esq., Hon. Secretary. The Chairman, Dr. L. W. King, was unable to be present through illness.

Mr. Crace moved, and the Rev. Canon Dalton seconded, that Prof. Buchanan Gray be asked to take the chair.

Mr. Crace then mentioned that letters of regret for non-attendance had been received from the Rev. Dr. Arthur Headlam and James Melrose, Esq.

The Minutes of the Fifty-third Annual General Meeting were read and signed.

The Chairman moved, and Commander Hogarth seconded, the adoption of the Report and Accounts for 1918, copies of which had already been circulated.

The Chairman expressed the regret of the Meeting at the continued illness of Prof. King, and mentioned that his absence was sorely felt by the Committee, especially in connection with the inauguration of the British Archaeological School in Jerusalem.

The Hon. Secretary spoke of the losses sustained by the Committee since the last Annual Meeting, namely:—

Dr. E. T. Wilson, the brother of the late Sir Charles Wilson and for many years Honorary Local Secretary for Cheltenham;

The Rev. Prof. Mahaffy, C.V.O., D.D., Provost of Trinity College, Dublin;

Robert Williams, Esq., F.R.I.B.A., of Alexandria, the author of a recently published little historical guide-book to Jerusalem.

The Chairman moved the election of the following new members to the General Committee:—

Brigadier-General Ernest M. Paul, C.B., R.E.;

The Right Hon. Viscount Bryce;

Colonel H. Pirie-Gordon;

Lieut.-Colonel Richard L. Waller, C.M.G., R.E.;

Rev. Prof. G. A. Cooke, D.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew at Oxford;

Joseph Offord, Esq.

Remarks were made on the interest shown by these gentlemen in Palestine generally or the work of the Fund in particular, by Dr. Masterman, who seconded, and by others, and the resolution was carried unanimously.

The re-election of the Executive Committee as now constituted, with the addition of Brigadier-General E. M. Paul, C.B., R.E., was moved by Colonel Stewart F. Newcombe, R.E., seconded by Dr. D'Erf Wheeler, and carried unanimously.

A vote of thanks to the Chairman was moved by Mr. F. W. Percival and seconded by Mr. Stanley Cook, and the proceedings then terminated.

ENGLISH IMPROVEMENTS AT JERUSALEM.

By Father L. H. Vincent.

[The Committee has received some interesting remarks (of which the following is a translation) upon the works of improvement carried out in Jerusalem and the neighbourhood under the English military authorities during their occupation, from that distinguished French archaeologist, Father L. H. Vincent of St. Stephen's, long resident in Jerusalem before the war, who, after serving his country for nearly five years in France, has lately returned to Jerusalem. In a private letter which accompanied his report he states that he is so greatly impressed by the nature and extent of the improvements, and the care with which they have been carried out, that he feels it is only just to Englishmen interested in Palestine to communicate to them the very favourable opinion of a foreigner who has for many years been a devout student of the antiquities of the

Holy City. Father Vincent's important work on the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem, beautifully illustrated, published in Paris shortly before the war, is the best evidence of the value of his opinion as to the recent removal of the obstructing interior wall as described in the *Quarterly Statement* of April last.—J. D. C.]

Under England's Rule in Palestine.

In returning, a few days ago, to Palestine, after fifty-four months of service in France, I was not without a certain anxiety as to the condition in which I should find Jerusalem and the Holy Places at the end of the terrible catastrophe which has shaken the world.

Certainly I knew that for more than a year the army of Liberation was employed in Southern Palestine, and particularly at Jerusalem, in obliterating traces of the war, substituting everywhere an era of beneficent justice and industrial activity for the secular *régime* of venality, carelessness and rapine which the Turkish administration represented. I had not expected that such considerable progress would have already been realised in this *desirable* transformation.

It was a pleasant surprise to pass in the space of a few hours, tranquilly installed in a railway carriage, the immense desert-barrier between Egypt and Palestine. It was yet another to observe the rich country of ancient Philistia, better cultivated than formerly, rapidly hiding the scars of its wounds under crops full of promise. But particularly at Jerusalem there is most happily manifested this splendid initiative of the English military administration.

To appreciate at its right value the amount of laborious effort liberally bestowed on this task of reorganization one must have lived long in Jerusalem before the war. Despite fine projects, periodically renewed by the Turkish administration, careful only to make of them a pretext for new taxes, notwithstanding the goodwill of some groups of Americans and Europeans established in the interior or around the ancient city, nothing efficacious had yet been realised to ensure, not certainly any comfort, but the most elementary hygiene in a city seething with a perfectly heterogeneous population. The highway was confided almost exclusively to the sun, aided by the legion of unpleasant dogs and by the violent mountain winds. The most bizarre caprice of each proprietor could at every turn complicate the regulation of many quarters.

For some months, on the accession of the Young Turk, one hoped in vain for some amelioration of this deplorable state of things. The Young Constitution Government of 1908, in burdening Jerusalem with new changes, only started projects without a morrow, or outrageously profaned the charm of the ancient city by inflicting on it here and there some embellishment in the style of the Clock Tower which has for ten years disfigured the Jaffa Gate, or the monstrous *Sébil*[1] attached like a horrible parasite to the slope of the ancient Citadel, so hideous this last that Djemal Pasha was offended by it and did away with it during the war. The erection of this pretentious *Sébil* seemed indeed an irony on the part of an administration which never arrived at providing drinking water for the town, having succeeded only in restoring with metal pipes (too small and badly laid) the Roman canalisation which formerly led the water from Solomon's Pools to the Colony of Aelia.

The *Quarterly Statement*, Palestine Exploration Fund, January, 1919, has already described, as it deserved to be, the admirable work of the English military engineers which in four months ensured to Jerusalem a copious supply of excellent drinking water, the benefit of which to such a congested population can hardly be over estimated.

Not least to be praised is the very notable improvement of the public ways, not only of the more frequented and less tortuous streets of the New Town, but also of the labyrinth of lanes and by-ways seething with a population which apparently rejects the most elementary rules of health and cleanliness.

It is not my business to describe the projects in view for purifying and embellishing judiciously the Holy City. General Allenby has placed this task in careful hands in confiding it to the Chief Administrator of the southern occupied territory and to the Military Governor of Jerusalem. Under their active instigation able specialists make daily progress with this gigantic undertaking. Obviously, archaeologists must necessarily be interested, and it is precisely with the object of jealously and scrupulously preserving these interests that the Governor has engaged the services of qualified specialists.

Of the works actually in progress or already completed interesting to archaeologists, I should like to point out two which have greatly

[1] Drinking fountain.

rejoiced me, and which I think will particularly interest the readers of the *Quarterly Statement.*

The first is the methodical cleaning-up of the Citadel of Jerusalem. Everybody knows that this vast edifice includes some relatively modern constructions with the splendid mediaeval buildings, and some Roman and Jewish elements of the Herodian epoch, the monumental character of which impresses itself strongly on every visitor.

Transformed long ago into a Turkish barracks, the venerable Citadel remained almost inaccessible. When after much difficulty one succeeded in getting the doors open, in the hope of studying its structural changes more nearly, and of obtaining a closer knowledge of its long history, one wandered with the most distressing disappointment in a sordid labyrinth of parasitical sheds amid heaps of rubbish and unspeakable filth from which very few vestiges of ancient works emerged. These ignominious remains of the Turkish occupation were not only an insult to the dignity of the ancient edifice, but had become a pestilential centre for the town.

Well might the authorities have shrunk from the work of cleaning this Augean stable, and deferred so unpleasant a task until the political situation of the country was more definitely settled.

Not so did the English military administration look at the matter; so anxious were they for the health and welfare of the town lately snatched from oppression that they had already some months before begun the clearance. One cannot imagine any method more prudent and carefully considered than that which they adopted. Without imprudent haste, especially without the smallest demolition, even were it the most shapeless mass and foreign to all signs of antiquity, up to the present time the results are splendid. Nearly a third of the monument has been cleared of the rubbish with which it was encumbered, and leaves partly visible its original arrangement. An extraordinary profusion of broken furnace-pipes of every style and date represents the only spoil which the most attentive vigilance of the superintendents of the works have been able to extract from these formidable rubbish heaps: curious symbols of generations of Turkish military bureaucrats who have so long dishonoured the ancient palace of the Herods. But one need not look far to see that the work in process of accomplishment at the Citadel is largely archaeological.

Those who ordered it and those who direct it have earned the

congratulations and all the gratitude of those who take any interest in the history and antiquities of the Holy City.

The second enterprise, almost completed, which deserves mention is the removal of the ignoble superadded wall which disfigured the great Nave of the Basilica of the Nativity at Bethlehem. All visitors, whether pilgrims or tourists, to this venerable church, have deplored that this hideous screen should so stupidly have cut off the admirable perspective of the splendid nave and entirely hidden the choir. More implacable were the maledictions hurled at this unfortunate screen by archaeologists. Certainly, archaeologists may differ as to the exact origin and the vicissitudes of the Basilica, but unanimity is absolute in denouncing this rascally piece of work of which the final date is well known.

It will henceforth suffice to place before the readers of the *Quarterly Statement* (as Père Abel has done recently in the *Revue Biblique*) the photograph of the actual state of the works, to enable them to put a finger on the exact place from which this horrible parasitic wall has been so judiciously removed. Exact records establish that in its last state the wall was erected about the middle of the nineteenth century, but one must not lose sight of the existence of some former enclosure, although of a totally different kind, enclosing the raised portion of the choir which covers the Grotto of the Nativity.

The modern wall has been prudently attacked from the top; it consisted of shapeless rubble disguised by a heavy cresting. As the pick-axe disturbed this masonry, exposing at the two ends of the wall the fine shafts of the pilasters at the openings of the transept, there came into view on these shafts the remains of mediaeval paintings and graffiti. One could not demand better evidence were any needed to prove again the superadded and late character of this hideous screen. As the work of demolition approached the level of the choir, the most vigilant care was exercised, and although the nature of the construction remained identical throughout there was not the slightest evidence of ancient work. The demolition was stopped at about two feet above the level of the choir pavement and about four feet above that of the nave. In order not to do away with any traces indicating a screen, and not to prejudge any details of a screen which originally enclosed the Sanctuary of the Basilica, this base of the wall will be retained intact. Desiring to give this lowered screen a finish in harmony with the character of the edifice,

the Governor instructed his qualified assistants to study with great care a design for a balustrade which would reproduce as closely as possible the features of the chancel, which should enclose the elevated choir of a Constantinian Basilica.

When this work is accomplished it will be to the honour of the high authority who took the initiative amidst the preoccupations entailed by his position, and to the men of science and taste who carried it out.

The Palestine Exploration Fund is not likely to be indifferent to the fact that this brilliant improvement is due to English officers.

PÈRE L. H. VINCENT.

JERUSALEM, *March*, 1919.

A JEWISH FEAST.

THE ANNUAL FEAST OF RABBI SIMEON BEN YOKHAI AT MERON.[1]

By E. W. G. MASTERMAN, M.D., F.R.C.S.

ANNUAL festivities at sacred tombs are common to all the three great religions in Palestine. Thus, the "Holy fire" in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre draws thousands of Oriental Christians together every Eastertide, and at the same time the Moslems from all over the land pour down into the Jordan Valley to celebrate the Feast of Nebi Musa at the (to them) traditional tomb of Moses. Both these celebrations have been repeatedly described. The corresponding Jewish feasts held in Galilee are little known outside Palestine, but are certainly quite as picturesque, and, among Oriental Jews, are times of great rejoicings. These two annual spring festivals are, the one at the tomb of Rabbi Meyer Baal Nes, held on the thirtieth day after the Passover, at Tiberias, and that at the tomb of Rabbi Simeon ben Yokhai on the thirty-third and thirty-fourth days after the Passover, at Meron, on the slopes of

[1] Reprinted, with kind permission of the Editor, from the *Near East*, Aug. 2, 1918.

the Jebal Jermak to the west of Safed. The latter is the more ancient feast, but many Jewish pilgrims manage to attend both, and hundreds of Jews stream up from Tiberias—every donkey, mule, and horse available being requisitioned—to attend the great gathering at Meron. It is not my purpose to enter into any historical account of the gatherings, or of those in whose honour they are held, but as I had an opportunity of attending the Meron feast some years ago, and as, with the influx of new ideas into the land, it is to be feared that many of the picturesque features will fade away, I propose to narrate—from notes taken at the time—my impressions of the occasion.

We left Safed on Thursday, May 2, at 5 p.m. Pilgrims had been pouring along the road to Meron all the day long, and at 2.30 that afternoon a famous Torah (copy of the law) from the Chief Sephardim Synagogue had been carried in procession, its passage to Meron being celebrated by a collection of alms en route. This much-venerated Torah is said to have been stolen some centuries ago, and to have been carried to Constantinople; but from there it returned of its own accord a month or so later! When we took the road, there was one almost continuous line of people walking or riding to Meron. At an old cistern—Biresh Shih—about halfway, a tent had been erected, and bread and water were being distributed gratuitously to those in need. A few yards further on is a ruin reputed to be the tomb of Rabbi Yosëa Galilee; a number of Jews were collected together reciting prayers.

Our fresh horses steadily outstripped the jaded and overloaded beasts, each conveying the food and household utensils, as well as at times two or more members of a Jewish family.

Close to Meron itself we passed the Chief Rabbi of Safed, whose bowed and aged frame was swaying about on the back of an ass. A mounted Turkish soldier, with rifle to knee, rode in front for hi protection. A few yards farther and we found ourselves amids the excited crowds scattered around the tomb. Before we could dismount a group of three musicians commenced a musical welcome in our honour which we promptly diverted to greet the arrival of the more honourable visitor behind—the Chief Rabbi. As the setting sun left us but a few minutes more of daylight, we hastened to use its light to visit the tomb of the famous Hillel, on the hill-side to the west. Here are shown the sarcophagi of the great teacher and of his thirty-six disciples—all, alas! to-day empty. It

is a strange underground chamber with the sarcophagi on three sides, each with a massive stone lid. In the darkening interior we could see the drops of moisture gathering on the roof, to fall upon the puddles on the floor, while every sarcophagus was brimful of water. The damp, the gloom, and the semi-desertion of the site were in strange contrast to the flaring lights and noisy crowds gathering around the tomb of Simeon. The only visitors to Hillel's tomb were two Yemen Jews from Silwan (Siloam), who, like a large proportion of those in the neighbourhood, were unblushing mendicants.

Crossing some fields towards the site of the festive proceedings, we reached the rear of the Synagogue just as a burst of applause from the roof marked the conclusion of a sword dance by two Aleppo Jews. We then entered the outer court of the Synagogue. The centre was occupied by a booth sheltering the stalls of several provision sellers, and round this gyrated a vast moving crowd. By squeezing and pushing—and being pushed—we at length pressed our way into the shrine itself and found ourselves before the tomb of the saint. This, a raised oblong structure of whitewashed stone, occupied the south-east corner of the building, and was ablaze with the candles of the worshippers. A few pious Jews, in marked contrast to most of those present, were engaged in prayer. Nearer the centre of the Synagogue was the less honoured tomb of Rabbi Eliezer, Simeon's son. As we wandered about, an ever-increasing string of beggars attached themselves to us and we were not sorry to escape again into the open courtyard. Thence, we ascended a stone staircase to the surrounding gallery, from which the swaying multitude in the court below could be observed. Although all the front places had been taken hours before, one kind old Jewish matron made a place for me, from which I could look down for hours upon the proceedings. It was now growing dark, and the young folks on the roofs and galleries occupied themselves by throwing a stream of flaming green and red matches upon the heads of the dense and moving crowd. Some landed upon the straw mat, but not a few, impelled with surer aim, did visible damage to hats and clothes. The utmost good humour appeared to prevail, however, and I had many friendly greetings from happy faces. I only saw one quarrel, when a young man, apparently the worse for liquor, forcibly ejected a woman from a seat which he coveted.

Two Jewish bands—fiddle, drum, and cornet—played, turn about, without cessation in friendly rivalry but barbaric discord, and circles of Jews revolved in the court below. Sometimes they would dance shoulder to shoulder, with arms closely intertwined, at other times they threw themselves about, frantically waving their arms up and down. The Ashkenazim Jews, with their long cloaks, fur-lined caps, their *peyût*, and their long ragged beards, looked most extraordinary, throwing themselves in wild contortions as they circled round in front of the Synagogue door. In another part, a circle of Sephardic (Spanish-speaking) Jews went through various forms of more dignified, though, perhaps more noisy, dance.

At times one could see in the semi-darkness swords being slowly waved, while at others a chorus in honour of Rabbi Simeon, accompanied by clapping of hands, would vary the programme. Suddenly the former group was joined by a man with a girl of about seven perched upon his shoulders. She was clad in white, with a gold braided cap on her head, and while she clung with all her might to her father's head, he twisted and turned and gyrated among the dancers with unwearied energy. We learned that she was a child who had during the last year been spared to her parents through a severe illness, and this was their way of returning thanks—probably in fulfilment of a vow made in the hour of anxiety. This father was soon joined by others bearing, shoulder-high, boys of three years old who had been brought to have their side-locks trimmed by the Rabbis on the morrow. Some of these children seemed to be actually enjoying themselves—as, with us, such children enjoy bank-holiday outings, with all the attendant discomforts—but one could not help wondering what they would be like the next morning after such a shaking up in such an atmosphere at such an hour. The darkness was now deeper, and only a few lamps suspended over the court, supplemented by frequent fireworks, illuminated the scene. Presently, looking eastwards to the mounted mass of Safed, we saw amidst the twinkling town lights a number of brighter points, which we learned were bonfires lit there in honour of the feast.

About nine o'clock the excitement around us—on the Synagogue roof—deepened, and presently an iron brazier upon a pole, which had been filled with clothes saturated in olive oil, was ignited. A middle-aged Jew from Bokhara waved his torch with wild delight, holding it at times suspended over the dancing crowds below—

illuminating a scene quite Dantesque—and at other moments shaking it recklessly over the people around him on the roof. The Turkish guards took speedy advantage of the illumination to detect and summarily eject any Moslems they found scattered among the crowd. When the flames flagged fresh clothes—now a *kumbaz* (cloak), then a *kamis* (shirt)—were thrown upon the top. The holder of the brazier became more and more reckless in his movements, and scattered clouds of sparks and blazing fragments of garments, while the packed multitude around him jumped and shouted in excitement. Once in wilful carelessness, to the great disgust of the *Shammas* in attendance, he brought the blaze almost in contact with the sacred *adlakah*, or bonfire, the kindling of which is the chief feature of the evening.

This bonfire consisted of a pile of garments saturated in pure olive oil arranged upon a pillar of stone about five feet high. Two such constructions are built upon the roof, one in honour of Simeon and one of Eliezer. Over each a Shammas (Synagogue servant) presided, and all the evening each was occupied in accepting offerings of garments and olive oil for the fire. While oil was being freely given, the attendants did no little business by selling at an enormously enhanced value, small quantities of it for its supposed healing virtues. As the time drew on the presentations of oil arrived with increasing rapidity.

About 9.30 there was a stir along the gallery, and a group appeared escorting the Chief Rabbi, whose duty it was to kindle the *adlakah* in honour of Rabbi Simeon. This privilege is annually sold, and this year it had been purchased for twenty-five Napoleons by a Jew in Russia, who, being unable to attend himself, had, as is customary, deputed the Chief Rabbi to act for him and kindle the fire in his name. The aged Rabbi was assisted to a step within reach of the bonfire, he then wound a silk scarf soaked in oil around a stick, and having kindled this from the brazier, attempted to light the oil-soaked mass of garments. They were somewhat slow to ignite, so the brazier itself was lowered until it almost rested upon the combustibles. Sparks flew in clouds and were thrown by the wind over the Chief Rabbi and his supporters; the fur-lined cap of the former, showing signs of ignition, was hurriedly removed, leaving him in his less dignified skull-cap. To us the old gentleman would have seemed to be in a very uncomfortable position but for the glimpses we caught of his earnest and delighted face at

intervals as he actively poured streams of fresh oil upon the blazing flames. As the fire blazed a perfect frenzy seemed to take possession of the crowd, which, amid loud shouts, danced up and down or surged backwards and forwards. After a quarter of an hour the second fire—close to where we stood—was kindled without special ceremony from the first bonfire. Most of our neighbours gave themselves up to having a "good time," and roared, shouted and gesticulated with delight. In contrast to the majority we saw three aged dames peering from a recess close to the fire, whose scared and shining faces were animated by the deepest reverence, while their toothless jaws worked up and down with mumbled prayers.

A third beacon was now kindled, just over the entrance, near the tomb of Rabbi Isaac Nifhah, and shortly afterwards, as we were leaving, we saw a blazing brazier being carried up the hill to light yet another bonfire at the tomb of Rabbi Yohannan Sandlar.

We picked our way out of the noise and smoke into the quiet environs. As we mounted our horses the moon rose calm and still behind the mountains of Safed, to disappear as we descended the steep and rocky hill from Meron, to reappear once more as we pursued the quiet and now deserted road back to Safed.

We left the crowds to carry on, amidst growing excitement and licence, their semi-pagan ceremonies all the night through and for twenty-four hours beyond. Noise and crowds and blazes seem to appeal to the multitude everywhere under the patronage of various religions. The "Holy Fire" in Jerusalem presents almost identical features—similar disorderly and excited crowds, loud chants and shouts, and finally a blaze of light. A good old-fashioned "Guy Fawkes" day of half a century ago—originally a semi-religious demonstration—appeals to the same tastes.

It has been stated that at Meron costly garments and even jewellery are cast into the fire, but I saw nothing of this kind of offering, and, if such a custom existed, it is not continued now.

The second day of the feast is not so important as the first, but is marked by one custom peculiar to itself. Jews, on this occasion, bring their three-year-old boys to the tomb of Rabbi Yohannan in order that the Rabbis may cut their hair to make the beginnings of the *peyût*, or side locks, so greatly valued by the orthodox.

THE IMMOVABLE EAST.

By Philip J. Baldensperger.

(*Continued from Q.S.*, 1918, p. 122.)

Natural History Notes.

The fellah has, in general, more natural history notions than either medany or bedawy. The former, living always in towns, can hardly distinguish between an owl and a partridge, and the latter, living mostly in the sandy plains, knows the animals which occur there, almost ignoring those of the mountains. But the flora especially, because they vary so considerably, are unknown to him; yet he knows the stars and their positions better than the fellah.

The fellah has, it is true, no natural divisions of animals, much less of plants; but he knows that a cat and a leopard are related to each other, as well as a dog and a wolf and a hen and a partridge, and so forth.

There is no quadruped that he does not know, from the mouse or mole-rat to the buffalo and the greater carnivorous animals. Birds are all distinguished by proper names, either derived from their colour, as the blackbird, *suwade[t]* (صودة); from their voices, as the cuckoo, *bukoh* (بكو); or from their habits, as the pallid shrike, perching on top of trees, *abu'l elū* (ابو العلو).

Reptiles are all distinguished, except some serpents, which are confused.

Fishes are known by the general name of *samak* (سمك). Insects are known, such as beetles (خنافس), butterflies (فراشي). Worms and other lower creatures have distinct names. In the vegetable kingdom, as also in the animal kingdom, the larger the plants the more universally are they known. Trees and bushes have very distinct names. But hundreds of flowers and grasses have also a special designation,

The firmament is regarded as a vast far-away country, and the constellations are groups of personages or objects having a history of their own which reminds one of the myths of the ancients. The Milky Way is the Way of the Straw-carriers, *tarîk et-tabaneh* (تريك التبانه), the caravans of camels having left the *tibn* strewn along on their passage.

As these short notes have no pretence to be more than jottings, the most conspicuous names of animals and plants, as they happen to come to my memory, are given in the following pages, and are compared with the Hebrew equivalents of the Bible so far as they resemble the modern fellah denomination, or the recognized names in many cases.

The lion (Heb. *aryeh*, *e.g.*, Gen. xlix, 9; Arab. *sabe'*), which was very common in Palestine, has now altogether disappeared, but as the name is so well known to everyone, it seems evident that it must have existed there. Several other animals are known by name, as the elephant (*fîl*), the crocodile (*tamsakh*), but few have a real idea of their form or size, whilst the lion is even minutely described, so vividly have the recollections of the animal been handed down from generation to generation.

The leopard (Heb. *nāmēr*, *e.g.*, Isa. xi, 7; Arab. *nimr*), is found principally in the south and in very desolate places.

The bear (Heb. *dōbh*, *e.g.*, 2 Kings ii, 24; Arab. *dib*), is now only met with in the Lebanon; it is well known, because Bulgarians often pass through the country with them.

The wolf (Heb *zĕēbh*, *e.g.*, Gen. xlix, 27; Arab. *dhib*), occurs now and then, but is not very common.

The hyaena (the Hebrew would be *sĕba'*; Arab. *ḍab'*, ضبع), is known all over the country, and is said to roam over miles and miles every night. The one of Beer el-Helon is said to come till Castel, that of Colonieh is master of the hills as far as Jerusalem. The hyaena is the hero of hundreds of stories, and it is noteworthy that the Scriptures mention the "Valley of Zeboim" (1 Sam. xiv, 18) only where the name of the hyaena can be found. That this valley has not been identified lies in the fact that hyaena-hills, hyaena valleys, hyaena-caves, etc., are found everywhere. Compare the *Shukh ed-Debu'a*, east of Jerusalem, the Wady ed-Dab'a, south of Ramleh, etc.

The jackal (Heb. *shu'āl*, *e.g.*, Judges xv, 4; Arab. *wāwy* واوى)

is known everywhere. It is especially plentiful in the maritime plains, where the exploits of Samson are placed. In the mountains the jackal is often called *dib'y* (ضبعي), a diminutive of *dab'*.

The cheetah is not mentioned in the Scriptures, but it is now well known by the name of *fahd*. A courageous person is always called a fahd. The animal only occurs in East Jordan lands.

The badger is mentioned in the Bible in the "badger-skins" (Ex. xxv, 5, etc., *tahash*) but the translation seems to have been influenced by the similarity of the Latin *taxus* or *taxo* (*c.f.* the German "dachs"). The badger, *ghere*[*t*], is very well known, and as it feeds principally on vegetables, is very common where these are raised. As it is very fat, its meat is eaten when killed. The skin, with its very long and rough hair, does not seem very appropriate for the two purposes mentioned in the Scriptures: 1. As a covering for the Tabernacle (Ex. xxvi, 14) it is not very fit, because it is very small and very difficult to find, especially about Sinai; 2. As fine leather for the shoes (Ezek. xvi, 10) it was not at all fit; these skins were, very likely, fine tanned ram skins. But as the badger is so well known, it is very probable that the *shāphān* (translated coney, Lev. xi, 5) and placed before the hare, was intended for the badger. In Prov. xxx, 26 (so the R.V. margin, which has "rock-badger") the *shāphān* is called "but a feeble folk, yet make they their houses in the rocks." Badgers dwell in rocks, and come down by night and make great havoc among the vegetables of Urtās. The author of that chapter probably had trouble with them, as they destroy crops but cannot easily be caught.[1]

The porcupine (*nīs*, نيس) is, like the badger, very fond of vegetables, and is difficult to hunt, as it cannot easily be shot, and when attacked rolls itself upon the feet of the pursuer and seriously wounds him with his long spikes.

The coney is called *wabr*, and is extremely rare, it is known only to very few fellahīn.

The hare, Heb. *arnebeth* (*e.g.*, Lev. xi, 6; Arab. *arnabe*[*t*]), is known all over the country, and is hunted and eaten by the fellahīn.

The wild boar (*ḥăzīr*, *e.g.*, Lev. xi, 7, Arab. *khanzēr*) is found in the Jordan Valley, where the herds very seriously damage the

[1] [According to the *Encyclopaedia Biblica* the modern Arabic form of the word (*thafun*) is still used among the southern Arabs for the jerboa.]

wheat and barley; they are also found in the maritime plains and oak forests of the mountains. Mohammedans do not eat them when they kill them, but sell them to Christians if there are any near, for they do not even like to touch them. But, curious to say, they take their tusks and fix them with silver one against the other, thus forming the crescent, and hang it at the neck of their horses.

The ibex (*cf.* Job xxxix, 1, Ps. civ, 18; Arab. *badan*) is found chiefly about the regions of 'Engeddi.

The gazelle (Heb. *ẓēbhī*, *e.g.*, Deut. xiv, 5; Arab. *ghazāl*) and the ibex are only known in Western Palestine. The gazelle is found everywhere, but the various other animals of Deut. xiv, 5, are not known.

Bats of all kinds (Heb. *'ăṭallēph*, Lev. xi, 19; Arab. *waṭwaṭ*) are found everywhere. Millions of bats inhabit the caves of She'ha, east of Ramleh. The sight is a unique one when they fly out in thick columns just a few minutes after sunset in regular order in the direction of Ramleh and Lydd, and then, when these armies have continued thus for one half to three quarters of an hour pouring forth, they spread in every direction, hunting among the millions of flies and insects about the infected mosquito-producing wadis, and rendering quiet but immense service to the inhabitants of the plains, who, but for them, would be so much more inoculated with typho-malarial fever; not to say anything about the sleepless nights produced by their stings. The Greek fruit-eating bats (*Cynonysteris ægyptiaca*) feed on oranges in Jaffa; they slightly envelope the fruit with their great wings (measuring a foot or more from end to end) and suck out the soft parts, leaving the skin on the tree. They are found in the subterranean vaults of the tower of Ramleh—in fact, the only place where I have ever met them in day-time—and I wonder whether they still fly to Jaffa in the evening and come back by the first streak of daylight, as Ramleh does not furnish food enough in the few palm-trees, the fruit of which they delight in. Water-wheel wells do not offer sufficient shelter for them.

The rat (*jardōn*) and mouse (*far*) are man's constant companion, and follow his tracks in the fields as well as in the house. The jerboa, (جربوع) is a small spiny mouse found in Philistia, and supposed to be the *'akbar* (עכבר, mouse) of Lev. xi, 29; but this, as will be seen hereafter, was most probably the tortoise. There are many other kinds of field mice, especially in the desert of Judea and the plain of Jordan. The whole mouse tribe is called *far*, *i.e.*, the *pēr* of Isa. ii, 20 (according to one view).

The hedgehog (Arab. *kunfud*, Heb. *kippōd*, in Isa. xxxiv, 11, transl. *bittern*), lives in ruined places and in hedges, where it feeds on worms. It comes forth only by night.

The above quadrupeds are the principal and best known ones. Most of them can easily be tamed, if brought up with care. A hyaena which we brought up was very tame, till it received raw meat, then it began to attack us, and had to be killed. A young bear from Tripoli in Syria was as gentle as a baby. Jackals and foxes are very tame. A young jackal in Jaffa would on no account leave the house, in spite of my carrying him away to the impenetrable hedges where he could find his friends and kindred, but next morning he again pleaded behind the door for admittance, though the dog would not live on friendly terms with him, no matter how humbly the jackal begged. Hares, gazelles, the ibex, etc., can be tamed for a time; lack of free space shortens their lives in civilized places.

Birds (Arab. *ṭiyōr*, Heb. *oph*, Gen. i, 20, etc.) of all kinds, however small, have their special names, and are well known by the fellahīn, from the ostrich *na'ame[t]* (نعامة), met with only in the Syrian desert, to the small pygmy warbler, *fesaysi* (فسيسي), hardly bigger than the figs on which he feeds, and often confused with them, because it has the colour of a ripe fig.

The best known birds are the bearded vulture (Arab. *badej*), the griffon vulture (Heb. *nesher*, Arab. *nisr*), and the Egyptian vulture (Heb. and Arab. *rākham*). These vultures are the most numerous, and wherever a carcase is thrown away, they are certainly the first to find it, and numbers flock in from every direction. This is the bird alluded to in Jesus' foretelling of the destruction of the temple: "Wheresoever the carcase is, there will the *eagles* (or vultures) be gathered together" (Matt. xxiv, 28). Together with the jackals they are the effective hygienic police-agents, and are referred to as the fowls of the heavens (1 Sam. xvii, 46; Jer. vii, 33, etc.).

(*To be continued.*)

ON—ANU, HELIOPOLIS IN A SEMITIC INSCRIPTION; AND THE GILGALS AND MASSEBAHS OF PALESTINE.

By Joseph Offord, M.R.A.S.

Any complete Dictionary or Encyclopaedia of the Bible will give the correct explanation that the Egyptian city named On in Gen. xli, 45 and 50, is the northern Nile town of Rā-worship known to the Greeks as Heliopolis and to the Egyptians, as spelt in their hieroglyphic script, as Anu.[1] It is only three or four years ago that the site of a necropolis of the priests of On was discovered and a number of the mummy coffins from thence placed in the Cairo Museum. Ezekiel, as manuscript evidence shows, wrote the name Aven (אָוֶן) by a play upon the spelling to represent "idolatry." This he did doubtless because of the place being one of the Egyptian seats of pagan sun-worship, and that near to the Syrio-Palestine frontier.[2] The Egyptians had another sacred city, in hieroglyphs spelt Anu, higher up the Nile, called Hermonthis by the classics. The identification of On was facilitated by the LXX MSS. giving Heliopolis, and certified by the Coptic Old Testament translators, who were personally acquainted with Egyptian geography, adhering to the title as On.

It is not so generally known that we now have from Egypt a Semitic inscription of about the fourth century B.C., which confirms the Hebrew transliteration of Egyptian Anu with the On of Genesis.

This valuable record may be found in the Rev. G. A. Cooke's *North Semitic Inscriptions*, p. 91, whose translation of it is as follows:—

[1] The Hebrew name is given as אוֹן and אֵן; the LXX Ἀυ, and also sometimes Heliopolis Ἡλιοπόλις.

[2] The plain of Aven of Amos (i, 5) is most likely to have been Coele-Syria, so called because of idolatrous sun-worship at Baalbec or other shrines; Amos therefore for some reason calls the Syrian Heliopolis, or On, Aven. Perhaps because he knew the veracity of the tradition, Macrobius quoted later that priests from Egyptian Heliopolis came to Baalbec and introduced sun-worship there.

"I am Pa'ala-ubast, son of Sed-yathan, son of Ger-sed the Tyrian dwelling here (?) in On of Egypt, after (the) departure of Bod-Mnqṣth, the man of On."

The important words of the text for our present purpose read thus: באן מצרם בפטרת ברמנקצת ה(א)נ(ו), the last words having been emended by the editors of the *Corpus Semiticarum* to read "man of On."

It should be noted that the record was engraved on behalf of a person from Tyre and so a Phoenician or Aramean. This epitaph therefore proves that, at a date of about a thousand years later than Joseph's marriage to the daughter of one of the hierarchy of the Heliopolis holy place, a representative of almost identical race to that of the writer of Genesis (xlvi, 20) still entitled the Egyptian Anu, as Semiticised by On, or his scribe did so for him. But the inscription was found at the Egyptian religious temple of Abydos, which fact carries with it the confirmation that the priests of Osiris at that shrine also accepted On as representing Anu = Heliopolis, for no literary composition or epitaph could be engraved, or set up, in such a sacred edifice without being submitted to the censorship of the temple custodians. There is another agreement, for these similarities are not merely coincidences but the result of the composition of the Old Testament writings being nearly contemporary with the events which they describe, which historians of the Hebrews in Palestine and their neighbours must not omit to notice in this connection: this is that Jeremiah (xliii, 13) when naming On as a Beth-Shemesh was directly transferring the sacred name of the Egyptian Heliopolitan temple into Hebrew. For the shrine-name was *Pe-Rā*, "House of Rā" (the Sun-god). In the verse wherein he so appositely uses Beth Shemesh as a designation he also speaks of the "erect images," *massebah* (מַצֵּבָה) as a speciality at Heliopolis.[1] Other uses of this word in the Old Testament prove its being adopted for a memorial pillar, which could sometimes be of large dimensions. Such pillars in some Semitic cults appear to have had their head anointed with oil (Gen. xxviii, 18; xxxi, 13, and xxxv, 14).

Now On was especially famous for its obelisks; one of these is still standing, solemn but not silent—for Egyptian piety has elabo-

[1] For massebah, see Gen. xxxv, 20; 2 Sam. xviii, 18; Exod. xxiv, 4; and Hosea iii, 4.

rately emblazoned it with hieroglyphs—at Matarieh. Others have been carried away to great European cities. These massebahs had their pointed summits gilded to reflect the sun's rays, and upon the days when the Sun-god Rā was at its zenith, almost directly above Heliopolis so that for a few minutes even the loftiest obelisk cast scarcely a shadow, there were great festivals. The mental conceptions causing this religious rejoicing to be enacted upon the regular recurrence of physical phenomena are not so alien to Christian religion as one might perhaps think, for James (i, 17), speaking of good gifts from above, terms them as bestowed by the "Father of Lights" who is neither characterised by shadow nor turning.

How much an educated Hebrew knew concerning Egyptian cults and customs before the Captivity we shall probably never appreciate; but an item in connection with this massebah-pillar or obelisk symbolism at On throws an unexpected light upon Jeremiah's information.[1] We must however remember that he resided for a time in Egypt and doubtless had seen the cluster of obelisks at Heliopolis himself. But he seems to have been aware, from the fact of his specially mentioning the massebah at Beth-Shemesh, that An was a name of Osiris, and that the hieroglyphic rendering of the word was a pictograph of a pillar . When this sign An is used for the deity it has the determinative hieroglyph , and is read "the god An."

This hieroglyph has not the precise shape of an obelisk, but . If the central line is removed it becomes , leaving the form which some scholars have recently shown was assumed by the funerary massebah stele erected among the Semites at the tombs of women.

The central vertical line is, in Egyptian imagery, probably intended to point direct to the sun when vertical above the pillar; the cross bar being added to give warning of any deflection from a perfectly upright position.

There is a philological reason for assigning such meaning to it, which is that An was specially the name of Osiris when connected with or dwelling in the moon. An had, then, as well as at other times also, the meaning of "bow," or "crescent."

[1] The word massebah occurs (as מצבת) three times in inscriptions found at Kition (Cyprus); see Cooke, *North Semitic Inscriptions*, pp. 60, 62, 64; see also *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1895, pp. 37, 38.

A line drawn at right angles to the bow formed by the lunar crescent, if prolonged into space, would pierce the sun, and the Egyptians were aware of this. In the same way the central line of the peculiarly outlined pillar of this hieroglyph would at midday, of course only in the tropics, when the sun was vertical, come in contact with the solar disk.

This is not a suitable place in which to enlarge upon the information, chiefly from Semitic sources, which has accumulated concerning the massebah. Jacob erected such, and said this stone he had erected should "be for him an abode (or house) of God." In Gen. xxiii the verb shows, scholars say, that the word מצבה originally there has been changed to מזבח (altar). This massebah the patriarch called El êlōhē Israel.[1]

These two citations appear to indicate an idea that Jehovah in some mysterious manner dwelt in a stone massebah. The pagan inhabitants of Palestine certainly held that view, and because of this the Hebrew writers dropped the word for any object of Jahveh-worship, substituting "altar," except that Jeremiah, speaking of the pillar on the Egyptian border at Syene (Elephantine), uses it for Jahveh's shrine there. May that not be because it was in Egypt. The massebahs were familiar to the Prophet. They must not be confounded with *Khammamim*, "Sun Pillars," nor with Betyls, or sacred vertical or conical stones.

Whilst, previous to the partial occupation of Palestine, some of the patriarchs, including as we shall see Moses himself, appear to have entertained certain ideas connecting the possible presence of Jahveh in or about a massebah, it would seem that with only a few exceptions after entering the Promised Land such views were deemed to be dangerous, and ultimately all such shrines were considered as quite unorthodox. There cannot be any doubt but that this aversion arose from the presence in Palestine of stone circles or cromlechs with massebahs, whereat the inhabitants had practised idolatrous rites.

Strange to say, however, there are a few such instances as that of Joshua near the Jordan in which these Stonehenges of Syria were apparently taken over and sanctified to Jahveh-worship. Knowing what we do now about these primitive open air shrines, it is consistent to connect any statement of an early Old Testament

[1] Max O. Richter, *Kypros*, Plates 50–55, gives a Cypriote text found on an obelisk in Cyprus, reading "this massebah."

book as to a holy place or gilgal site, where the writer speaks of twelve stones and of a single or pair of others denominated a massebah, with the possible utilisation for Jahveh-worship of one of the ancient cromlechs, with its circle of twelve stones representing the twelve stations of the zodiac and its one or more central pillars.[1]

Now we have, apparently, several Old Testament accounts of such places for sun-worship, and M. Maurice Vernes has only recently been treating of these from what may be termed the critical point of view. Those in Palestine have a special Hebrew name, accompanied by the article, of the gilgal הַגִּלְגָּל. Joshua (v, 9), where an explanation of the word is given, omits the article. This word is closely allied with that for a wheel, and so proves that a gilgal was a circular row of stones, or cromlech. There were at least three Palestine gilgal sites, two of them, in addition to the meaning of their name, being definitely associated with sacred stones. The most important one, that between the Jordan and

[1] That the twelve tribes were mystically connected with the zodiacal signs is not a modern idea. This is shown by their symbolic animals. See Dr. J. Lepsius, in the *Expositor*, 1910, p. 223, who writes: "In the hieratic arrangement of the people of Israel, the Zodiac signs were allotted to the twelve tribes. Josephus (*Bell. Jud.* V, 5, 5) describing the temple, writes that the twelve showbreads, symbols of the twelve tribes, signify the twelve signs of the Zodiac. Similar symbolism underlies pseudo-Jonathan's Aramaic Pentateuchal Targum, which describes the Camp in the Wilderness. There the arrangement of the tribes around the Tabernacle in the form of a wheel with twelve spokes, a Gilgal, is brought into connection with zodiac symbolism." Joseph's dream (Gen. xxxvii, 9) shows there was some connecting link between Jacob's twelve sons and the twelve stars. Joseph with his bow may have been Sagittarius.

Four of the signs were considered specially important as marking the equinoxes and solstices, see Ezek. i, 10, and Rev. iv, viz.: the Lion, Judah, Sardius; Reuben, Ox, Emerald; Ephraim, Youth (Aquarius), Ligure; Dan, Basilisk (Scorpio, a fantastic animal in Gen. l, a serpent), Chrysolite. For the counterpart tribal stones, see the high-priest's breast-plate and Ezekiel's list of the twelve precious stones of the king of Tyre, whose wisdom, magic, and astrology, are described in xxviii, 11–17. In the LXX he has the twelve stones of Exod. xxviii. To the Phoenicians these symbolised no tribal dodecarchy, but he seems to have adored, like Moses and Elijah, a summit deity, for "he was upon the holy Mount of God," there "he walked in the midst of the stones of fire." This difficult passage seems to point to a gilgal of the Tyrians, whose twelve circling stones of the solar mansions represented the sun's fiery rays from his twelve stellar stations. In a certain sense the Tyrian mount was apparently Jahveh's home, for verse 16 speaks of "the Lord casting him out of the Mount of God, and from the midst of the stones of fire."

Jericho (see Josh. v), appears from Judges iii, 19, to have had an adjacent quarry from which its stele could have been easily obtained.[1]

There was a second near Shechem, apparently in the "plains" or at the terebinth of Moreh, and so at the bases of Ebal and Gerizim,[2] Deut. xi, 29 and 30. Now the writer of Deuteronomy seems to have, to some extent, confused this Gebal with the one upon the western side of Jordan, at Joshua's crossing place, because in xxvii, 4–6, he speaks of setting up great stones when they should pass over Jordan, not at the Jericho track Gebal, but upon Mount Ebal. This gilgal, near to Moreh and Shechem, apparently had some link with the altar of stones Abraham erected, as recorded in Gen. xi, 6 and 7. Of much greater import are the statements of Josh. xxiv, 26, and Judg. ix, 6, which speak of the massebah pillar there, thus proving the consistent association of the terms massebah and gilgal.

A third gilgal seems to have been situated in Phoenician territory ruled by the king of Dor (Josh. xii, 23; see also Josh. xv, 7, and Neh. xii, 29). The Gezer excavations have perhaps also revealed yet another. Although the title of gilgal is not applied to it, there can be but little doubt that the story in Exod. xxix, where Moses erected twelve pillars (*massebah*) and an altar, is a further instance of a gilgal; we have here again the zodiacal number of the circle stones. We may compare also the statement assigning the selection of this number to the fact of there being twelve Israelite tribes.[3]

But these assimilations may not be the whole facts of the case. It may be that a cromlech of twelve outer stones may have had

[1] Some scholars read verses 19 and 26 as "standing images" (*pesilim*), which would, if this is correct, be intended for the cromlech stones, or the two central massebah ones. The Hebrew words apparently point to "hewn," or "carved" images in contradistinction to those of other massebah stones, which were directed to be unhewn by metal.

[2] The Samaritan Pentateuch reads Gerizim here for Ebal. A new-found manuscript from Egypt, now at Giessen, apparently a translation from the Samaritan, reads here ἐν Αργαρίζιμ. This is the *har*, "mount," of the Samaritan version and of their Targums. It also is Eupolemus' reading. *Cf.* the Αργαρίζειν of Alexander Polyhistor. See *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, 1911, II, p. 269.

[3] Massebah here is in the singular, as if it applied to the central stone of a series beside, or identical with, the altar. Maspero, in *Struggle of the Nations*, p. 103, gives a picture of a cromlech in Moab.

that precise number for pagan solar cult purposes, and therefore was selected as suitable for Jahveh-worship as being an appropriate sacred site for the twelve tribes for ceremonial purposes.

If we look at the duplicate accounts of the gilgal near Jordan, which Joshua is stated to have erected, we shall see that although describing the same event, they are quite discordant. According to one story, twelve stones taken (it would appear from the description) from somewhere upon the eastern shore of Jordan, were to be erected in the temporarily dry, or easily fordable, river-bed. But the other narrative says that twelve stones selected from the river's bed were to be set up at their first halting-place for the night upon the Palestine side. This bivouac we know from other texts was at Gilgal near Jericho. The difficulty of reconciling these two accounts is well nigh insurmountable, but from information derivable from the other Biblical historic books it would appear certain that this gilgal was an instance of a pre-Israel cromlech holy place. Thus in Josh. v, 15, when the tribes were encamped at Gilgal, Joshua there in front of Jericho, was commanded to remove his shoes because of the site's sanctity. Until the tribes permanently captured and occupied Uru-salim with Mount Zion, and the rest of Jebus, which, it must be remembered, was not until David's time, Gilgal appears to have been a place held in special veneration in connexion with Jahveh's direction of his people. It was selected as the spot at which to inaugurate the Jewish kingship, and was one of the three judicial circuit sites together with Bethel and Mizpeh (1 Sam. vii, 16). Thereat, before Jahveh, Agag was executed, and to Jahveh at Gilgal were sacrifices offered (*ibid.* xv, 21), and it was a special resort of the orthodox early seers or prophets.

When the Hebrew writers refer to twelve stones being erected, or built into some object, they always proclaim them as representatives of the twelve tribes. If Joshua did set up twelve stones in the Jordan, in that case it probably was so, but in regard to the same number stated to have been at the neighbouring holy position known as Gilgal, and those at Sinai in the Exodus narrative, it does seem reasonable to consider that the peoples' leaders took over to utilise for Jahveh-worship old cromlechs, sites of the solar cult. The one with which the Jericho Gilgal was associated, points to its having been deemed a holy place as far back as man, at that time, had any record of.

In the Moses massebah, or gilgal, episode near Sinai the existence

of the twelve canonical solar stones appears to have become mixed up with the building of an altar.[1] This confusion may have arisen if the writer of Exodus was copying some old record, perhaps as M. Naville argues, in the cuneiform script, from some mingling of the dozen cromlech stones with the words about the altar. The scribal error may have been in the primary text, or have been perpetrated by the later hand that utilised it. There would seem to be somewhat of a similar "mystery" about the Jericho gilgal stones. For, curiously enough, in the Moab Madeba mosaic map, there is depicted the gilgal, near Jericho, as a building with two vertical rows of six stones each. Further, the descriptive text of the mosaic reads: *γαλγολα το και δωδεκάλιθον*, but whether the twelve upright stones had ever been built into an edifice we do not know.[2]

If a sacred building was sometimes erected, not as a circular Gilgal, but by arranging twelve special stones in piles as moieties of six, there would appear to be a mystical connection between this practice and the statement in Deut. xxvii, 12 and 13, setting forth the blessing and cursing of sets of six each of the tribes, and with the placing of the showbread: "set in two rows, six in a row, upon the table before the Lord, these betokened the covenant children of Israel" (Lev. xxiv, 5–9). The Jerusalem Talmud explains it as tribal symbols. The showbread, "before the face of Jahveh on the pure table," was parallel to the twelve stones in two assemblies of six, built into the massebah dwelling place of Jahveh, or into some altar beside the massebah pillar.

We have wandered far from the massebah stela to the gilgals, and have said but little about some of these latter, also less as to massebahs, in discussing them, but these two were frequently if not

[1] Elijah built at Carmel an altar of twelve stones. This was the site of a high-place of Baal, but it, as the gilgals appear to have been, was also a sacred place of Jahveh, for Elijah "repaired the altar of the Lord" (1 Kings xviii, 30). This may actually have been the gilgal coming next to "the coast of Dor, the kingdom of the nations of Gilgal" (Judges xii, 23); *cf.* also Hosea xii, 3, "They sacrifice bullocks in Gilgal"; also the "*mazzaloth*," of 2 Kings xxiii, 5.

[2] The Madeba designer seems to have been interested in sites of pagan cults, for he depicts a place east of the Dead Sea, and styles it *Βητομαρσια ἤ και Μαίουμας*—Beth-Marzeah, house (of) the Maioumas fête. This was an orgiastic function, and of pagan character. Probably it is the site whereat evil acts were performed, as given in Num. xxv, 1. Jeremiah xvi, 5, may refer to a Beit Marzeah, and the Beth Yesimoth of Num. xxxiii, 49, was close by. A מרזה fête was carried on also near Gaza, part of which was called Maioumas.

always associated together.[1] Thus at the Shechem—Ebal—Gerizim gilgal (Deut. xxvii, 4, and Josh. viii, 32), Joshua dedicated a massebah, for it was doubtless that "pillar (massebah) which is in the plain that was in Shechem." Probably Joshua utilised for his purpose the central stone of the gilgal. That he should use a piece of a primitive pagan memorial is in consonance with what we are told about the matter, and with further evidence of the anthropomorphic religious status of the bulk of the Israelites at this period. Whilst there is not any suggestion that the pillar was inscribed with any record of converse with the Deity, the old warrior told the people it would henceforth be a memorial or witness, because this stone "had heard all the words of the Lord which He spake."[2]

As has been shown, a massebah stone, if it were part of a group of an ancient solar shrine, should be associated with twelve others. Now this Shechem was near Gebal where Joshua (chapter viii), we are told, had built an altar of whitened stones, uncarven by metal. But the details as to this, as in other cases, seem to vary because these would appear to be the same as "the great stones plastered with plaster," to be set up after passing Jordan at the same Ebal and Gerizim in the Shechem district (Deut. xxvii, 4). In the earlier book nothing is said about inserting the stones into any altar. Moreover, on the contrary, the building of such a piece for sacrifice is referred to separately in verse 6. We are therefore faced here with a similar literary discrepancy as in the other Old Testament statement about gilgals and massebahs, and it looks as if a solar

[1] See Judges ix, 1–7, where Shechem, Gerizim, and the massebah occur together as usual.

[2] That this Shechem, Ebal, Gebal was once a pagan shrine, and so a site at which the Israelites were tempted to the worship of strange gods seems clear from Amos v, 5. It is there associated with a Beersheba, not the well-known Beersheba in the south, but one north of Jerusalem, contiguous to Dan and Samaria, see Amos viii, 14. 1 Kings xix, 3, differentiates the Beersheba there as that of Judah, because there was another of the same name. Amos's complaint of Gilgal and Bethel, because of non-Jahveh cults there, doubtless referred to stellar ones. Beersheba may mean "well of the seven" (stars) Pleides, or planets.

Amos viii, 14, perhaps, specifies the alien deities, for Dussaud (following Winckler) reads in part of the verse: "Live thy Dod, O Beersheba," and Dod, according to Mesha, was adored by Israelites at Ataroth, and three Hebrews in the Old Testament are named Dod. Hommel, in part of the verse, reads: "They that swear by Ashimat of Samaria." This is one of the deities honoured by the Elephantine people, and by some also in Palestine, see 2 Kings, xvii, 30.

cromlech shrine was appropriated as a proper place for a witness or memorial to Jahveh, and that some endeavour to avoid admitting this is made by the writers. If this view is correct, is there valid reason for surprise?

The Israelites were placed to a certain extent isolated in Palestine, somewhat as an historical experiment and probably also as an example. Guided by prophets and the Jahveh orthodox priests they were warned to abhor all the native polytheistic idolatry. But they were in an early stage of civilisation and their conceptions as to a deity were at a low level of development of the religious faculty of the human mind. Therefore, for their mental capacity the thunder-cloud pall surmounting Sinai and its lightnings, and the mighty wind rushing downwards towards the heated plain, were used to demonstrate to them the existence of God and the sacred sites of the land, in some cases taken over for Jahveh's meeting places.

To promote a pure monotheism, one sole shrine for the only Deity, was more proper and significant, and for that purpose Zion was in course of time selected as Jahveh's single earthly meeting-place. This unique holy place may have been made a *sine quâ non*, because it became patent that so attractive to the Israelites were the immoral rites of the various races scattered in Palestine, that if they associated in any way with the pre-Hebrew religious places, the temptation to become idolators was irresistible. Even when all that could be done by way of warning, and by ceasing even to admit that such sites had been used for offerings to, or memorials of, Jahveh, it in some cases proved ineffective, for of Bethel itself, which, before it received that title, may have been a Beth-Shemesh, it was said that the people went there not as adorers of Jahveh, but "to transgress."

Such a history of misdoing, so far from diminishing our belief in the antiquity and truthfulness of the record, should augment it. What Teuton writers call a tendency writer, would have concealed such failures. We see, because of these admitted facts, that a progressive revelation was being unrolled. Moses, at the beginning of the Hebrew literature, likewise never minced matters. He was not put forth to write a panegyric of the patriarchs. Had that been his aim, and were he an ordinary pagan mythographer, his Abraham would have been a *rara avis*, a Mesopotamian monotheist. But he tells his people frankly that their ancestors, when beyond the river, worshipped other gods. Even when the Promised Land

became their possession, many persisted in so doing. It needed the cruelties of the Captivities and the atrocities of Antiochus to drive the loyal remnant of the Jewish race into permanent faith in the one Jehovah, who was also their old Elohim, and thus prepare the way for the coming of Messiah.[1]

ARCHAEOLOGICA.

By Joseph Offord, M.R.A.S.

The excellent work of Dr. Camden M. Cobern upon *The Bearing of New Archaeological Discoveries upon New Testament Times and History* will so certainly be called for in a second edition, that some suggestions as to references to further matters at present omitted may be welcome.

The Nabatean inscription in the Epigraphical Volume of the Princeton Expedition to Syria, referring to Philip Tetrarch of Ituraea and Traconitis, is not quoted, neither are the coins which substantiate his reign. The manuscripts derived from Egypt giving very early copies of portions of the New Testament and also many concerning the Old Testament are enumerated, but the epigraphical quotations from Scripture receive but little attention, although their early textual value is very considerable. They may be found, as far as those discovered up to ten years ago, in the article "Citations" in the *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne*, edited by Dom Cabrol.

Some important ones concerning the Gospels are to be read in an essay by M. Lefebvre in the *Annales of the Musée du Caire.* Though so much is related by Dr. Cobern pertaining to primitive Egyptian Christian literature as found in manuscripts and papyri, the important *Prayer Book of Serapion*, edited by Dr. Wordsworth, is not referred to. Neither also is the early Syriac book—the

[1] In reference to Josh. v, 9, "This day have I rolled away the reproach from off you, wherefore the name of the place is called Gilgal," M. Vernes notes the play upon the word *gallōthi* (גַּלֹּתִי), from the root *gālal*, the "rolling away" of the Egyptian reproach, and the name gilgal, "rolling." He also connects the word with the *gal*, "heap," or tumulus of Genesis xxxi, 47.

Testament of Our Lord.[1] As manuscripts of new texts discovered in old libraries in Europe are discussed, the texts of Jerome and other patristic treatises published by Dom Morin in the *Analecta Maredsolana* might have been summarized.

In the account of the "Didache" no mention is made of the discovery of the Latin version of the first part of the tract known as "The Two Ways," in the library at Lorch, edited by Schlect and partly published by Gilbert-Highton and Offord in *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*.[2] The references to the numerous papyri concerning the taking of the census for poll-tax purposes in the Roman period in Egypt, and of importance in connection with the Taxing recorded in Luke, does not mention the very early census under Tiberius given by Von Eitrem of Christiania (*Philologus*, 21, vi, 1915).

Some very curious illustrations of the phraseology of the New Testament relative to the wearing of white robes at the Supper of the Lamb, derivable from the long Greek inscription found at Sardes, are unnoticed. Dr. Cobern does allude to this and other Sardes texts found by the United States Expedition, but omits the mention of Sepharad in both the Aramaic and Lydian versions of an inscription there, which is important in reference to Obadiah v, 20.

In his pages devoted to describing the (so-called) Christian Libelli, giving the actual certificates of having duly performed pagan sacrifices as demanded by the Edict of Decius, the total number of these manuscripts is given as twenty-five, but including one not mentioned, edited among the "Oxyrhynchus Papyri," twenty-eight are extant.

There is apparently no real ground for Dr. Cobern's holding up to infamy all those enumerated as complying with the ordinance as being Christians terrified into apostacy from fear of torture.

[1] The *Testamentum Domini*, published by Mar I. Rahmani, of Antioch, first contains a Syriac translation from the Greek of Books 1 and 2 of *Clement's Octateuch*. The rest gives the "Apochalytic Testament" and a much interpolated version of the "Egyptian Church Order," now known to be expanded from Hippolytus. The Clement portion was not edited again until 1913 by the Abbé Nau in his *Ancienne Literature Canonyques Syriaques*, but the rest of the Testament was given to us by Cooper and Maclean in 1902.

[2] The fact that the "Two Ways" (which is a portion of "The Teaching of the Apostles") was found in Latin, by itself confirms the hypothesis that it was written separately and anterior to the concluding half of the Didache.

Every one of the certificates of obedience granted to these compliers yet found may be to persons who had never left the old religions for the new one. The attempt, by means of a comparison of the wording of all these new Libelli, to reconstitute the precise phraseology of the Edict itself made by Offord in *Ancient Egypt* is not alluded to. It is curious that no demand for Emperor-worship was put forth. An inscription preserved in the Musée de St. Germain differentiating the classes from whom such adoration was expected may account for this, and may be read in M. Salomon Reinach's new Catalogue of the Museum.

The account of Prof. Rendel Harris' *Odes of Solomon* assumes their certainly being a Christian production. They are also acclaimed as if entirely new to us, but several of the poems have long been known because they were embodied in the Gnostic work the *Pistis Sophia*. To many scholars their imagery seems strongly Gnostic—not, with Dr. Cobern, "pre-Gnostic"—which their appearance in the columns of the *Pistis* confirms.[1] Further, although Prof. Burkitt may, as on p. 308, be said to have found a second manuscript of part of the *Odes* in the British Museum in 1911, this manuscript had been examined and duly noted in his great catalogue of Syriac texts by Prof. W. Wright many years ago.

Harnack possibly over-estimates the *Odes* as being a testimony to the concepts of early Christianity only, but as an expression of the sentiments of mystical lines of thought in primitive converts and Christians, especially those of Semitic race—both Christian and Gnostic, they are particularly interesting during this age of revival of mysticism in the Church.

Whilst almost all the great finds of papyri are mentioned, the volume of the Theodore Reinach Papyri is omitted, as also the mass of manuscripts known as the Zeno Papyri, mostly now in Italy—over one hundred of which have been published—and at Cairo. The Elephantine Papyri are mentioned by Dr. Naville in his preface. Some of these contain part of the Aramaic version of the Story of Ahikar, from which the New Testament takes the incident of the hog returning to his wallowing in the mire. Ahikar's story is also alluded to in Tobit.

The proofs from his speeches and Epistles of Paul's memory

[1] See Newbold, "Odes of Solomon and Christ's Descent to Hades," *American Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1912, p. 170.

being well charged with the works of the classic poets, may easily be augmented and deserves further dealing with.

In reference to the Logia or Agrapha, a sentence ascribed to Our Lord: "It is more blessed to give than to receive," has now been found among a list of many aphorisms of Epicurus, which gives rise to some interesting questions.

The chief lacuna in Dr. Cobern's work is the omission of the recovery of the original "Church Order of Hippolytus," mostly by means of evidence afforded by a manuscript at Verona. This achievement is the work of Dr. Schwartz, of Strassburg, and Dom H. R. Conolly, in his so-called "Egyptian Church Order and Derived Documents." This discovery proves the justice of the view of many reasonable critical scholars that a number of works, considered to have been original and therefore authoritative for Christian elaborate ceremonial and practices, were merely compilations made up by inserting much additional and extraneous matter in shorter and simpler early Christian Church ordinances. Thus, the "Apostolic Church Order," the "Didascalia," "the Canons of Hippolytus," the Sahidic "Statutes of the Apostles," the "Apostolic Constitutions," and the "Egyptian Church Order" (of which, early in this century, both Syriac and Latin versions came to light), all prove to be but *réchauffées* of Hippolytus' brief and New Testament like work, and of the "Didache," each tending, in the lapse of time from the primitive unecclesiastical period, to become more prolix, ornate and clerical, according to the date of its compilation.

In the *Journal of Theological Studies*," July, 1918, Dom Conolly provides additional proof that the short Hippolytan text was the original one, quoting two manuscripts at Vienna giving parts of the reduced recension whose phraseology is distinctly Hippolytan. He also quotes extracts from the minimum length parent text of Hippolytus which appear in Latin Gelasian Sacramentaries, confirming his view that the first origin of the "Church Order" was certainly Roman, not Egyptian or African, and that the complete work was shorter than any of those hitherto purporting to be the proper representative of the manual. The effect of these researches in respect of the canonization of the longer and therefore misleading recensions upon the upholders of the amplified copies as being the original ones has yet to be seen.

The evidence from epigraphy collected by Dr. Cobern may be augmented with advantage from the able article by M. l'Abbé

Jalabert, entitled "Épigraphie," which may be read in the *Dictionnaire Apologétique de la Foi Catholique*, edited by M. M. Adhemar d'Ales.

A very interesting inscription to be found in the *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1907, p. 432, relates to the consecration of a place of refuge or asylum from avengers, erected by the Emperor Anastasius in honour of Dionysius, the Areopagite, according to M. Cumont. But Jalabert thinks that, as this text comes from Cyrrhus, it concerns the martyr at that city named Dionysius, mentioned by Theodoret.

An important ancient book, *St. Ephraim's Refutation of Mani, Marcion, and Bardesanes*, edited by Mr. C. W. Mitchell in 1913, should be referred to in the portion devoted to discoveries in patristic literature.

The well known graffito of a man worshipping a human crucified figure with a head like that of an ass is mentioned as certainly a mockery at a Christian. But the design more likely depicts the Egypto-Syrian deity Set, or Sutech. Messrs. Spink of London recently had in their collection a head of Set almost precisely like this figure. It was published in *Nature* in 1917.

The excellent editions of Coptic manuscripts to be found of late years in the *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*, of Cairo, do not appear to have been examined by Dr. Cobern.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL NOTES ON JEWISH ANTIQUITIES.

By Joseph Offord, M.R.A.S.

(*Continued from Q.S.*, 1919, p. 87.)

LVII.—*The word for Satrap.*

The word for a Persian administrative official rendered "Prince" in A.V. Old Testament,[1] R.V. Satrap (Heb. plural *akhashdarpĕnim*) has been correctly traced to Persian derivations *Khshatrapâvan* and *Khshatrapa*. Precisely as the Semitic *Adon*, "Lord," became the name of a deity to the Hellenes, so this Aryan word for "governor," or princely lieutenant appears to have been used for a god, as had been the Melech of ancient Syria. From Asia the Persian word seems to have spread to some Greek sites in Europe and elsewhere, because many years ago M. Clermont Ganneau, the present doyen of Semitic studies, proved these facts.

Thus an inscription from Maad, near Byblos, reads: Θαιὸς Ἀσδουσίδου ἀνέθηκεν Σατράπη θεωι ἐχτων ἰδιῶν. Pausanias writes of a deity recognised at Elis as "Satrape, Korybas and Poseidon."[2]

As to epigraphical evidence of use of Satrap, signifying governor, an inscription which embodies a rescript of Valerian and Gallienus may be quoted, because it refers to a letter from Antiochus to Epiphemus, in which document there had been a question in reference to a Satrap of Apamea: τῆς ωερί Ἀπάμιαν σατραπείας (*see* Waddington No. 2720).

Some Greek texts found in Asia Minor read ΕΞΣΑΤΡΑΠΗΣ; and Theopompus, writing of Autophrades, calls him ΕΞΑΤΡΑΠΗΣ of Lydia. This style of spelling the word, with an initial vowel, points to its having been transliterated from its Aramaic form.

M. H. Pognon, to whom we are indebted for the valuable Aramaic-Canaanite inscription of Zakir, king of Hazrak, has been calling attention to two cuneiform written tablets dating from the

[1] For these words see Ezra viii, 26; Esther iii, 12; Daniel iii, 2, 3, 27, and chapter vi.

[2] An inscription at Miletus reads ἐξατρὰπης, and one at Mylasa, ἐξαιδραπεύων.

reign of Darius II which preserve the Assyrian form of this official as *ahshadarapan* or *ahshadrapân*.[1] The first of these documents concerns the terms of release for a prisoner for debt named Ah-iddina, who undertook, if set at liberty, "not to make any further appeal to the king, to a satrap, or to a judge" (*shar*, *ahshadrapan*, *dayan*).

The word for Satrap appears spelt out again upon the same tablet and also on the second one. Both these tablets came from Nippur, not far away from Babylon, but a considerable distance from Persepolis, and so it would appear as if, at this date, Nippur was a town in some Persian territorial satrapy.

It is possible that there may have been some cause for the Greek use of Satrapé for a deity arising from Satrap having been applied by the Persians to a series of gods, or spirits, because Josephus (*Ant.* X, xi, 4) says Darius created 360 satrapies in his empire. This number is that of the Chaldean divisions of the circle in time and space. Each division had its guardian divinity, doubtless these were the origin of the 360 Orphic gods. If Darius really created 360 territorial satrapies their districts must have been comparatively small in area. In Egypt there were 42 nomes, each of which possessed its special deity. These may have been included in Josephus's list, but no record suggesting there were several Satraps in Persian Egypt is known.

[1] *Notes Lexicographiques et Textes Assyriens Inédits*, in the *Journal Asiatique*, IIe Serie, Tome IX, 394; and Clay, *Business Documents of Murashu, Sons, of Nippur*, Vol. II, Plate 11, No. 21, and Plate 1, No. 2, l. 6.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF PUBLICATIONS.

Legends of Babylon and Egypt in relation to Hebrew Tradition, by Leonard W. King, M.A., Litt.D., F.S.A., &c. *The Schweich Lectures*, 1918. London. 1918.

Both the delay in the publication of these lectures and the form in which they now appear are due to war conditions. The photographs shown when the lectures were delivered were to have appeared as plates in the volumes, but the shortage of paper has led to the omission of them. This is a serious loss, and will be felt by the reader, especially of the first lecture, where Dr. King discusses the influence of Egyptian on Semitic, and of Assyrian on Syrian Art. For, though in the lectures as now published, Dr. King mainly confines himself for examples to well-known monuments, it is much less convenient to hunt up photographs of these elsewhere than to have them accompanying the text.

But if Dr. King has been thus hampered in giving to his volume the form he would have desired, he has given a rich compensation in the fulness with which he has treated his subject on its literary side. The general subject has of course been frequently discussed before, and, amongst others, by Dr. King himself; but certain new material published since the outbreak of the war is ample reason for a fresh discussion such as Dr. King has here undertaken, and it is a great convenience to have this new evidence thus brought together and examined.

That Hebrew tradition of the origin and early history of the world is closely related to traditions or theories current in Babylon, and that Hebrew ideas were much less, if at all, affected by corresponding Egyptian tradition and speculation has long been recognized. But whereas Hebrew tradition connects the great epochs of the Creation and the Deluge by a thread of history, in the Babylonian sources hitherto known the narrative of Creation and the narrative of the Deluge, each of which stood obviously related to the Hebrew stories, were isolated; now in the light of ancient texts, which are among the recently discovered documents

discussed by Dr. King, "the Hebrew connection of the narrative is seen to be on the lines of very primitive tradition." And not only of primitive, but of originally non-Semitic tradition, for the texts in question are Sumerian. But it is the antiquity not only of the Hebrew tradition in this respect, that is proved by the new texts; Berossus also connects the epoch of Creation with that of the Deluge by a line of ten antediluvian kings corresponding to the antediluvian patriarchs of the Old Testament, and the story of antediluvian cities; the antediluvian cities—five in number—appear directly in the newly recovered ancient Sumerian text, an antediluvian kingdom is implied in the fact that the hero of the Sumerian Deluge story is a king. The importance of this agreement of Berossus with the old Sumerian form of the story lies in the fact that it shows that that form of the story survived into the Neo-Babylonian period, and consequently that the Hebrews, like Berossus, may have derived their story not directly from the Sumerians, but "through Semitic channels from Babylon." And in his final discussion Dr. King inclines to the view that the Hebrews first tapped these channels after their settlement in Canaan.

In his discussion of the origin of the Babylonian Deluge story Dr. King argues strongly against the view that it is an astrological myth—the astrological *motif* is strikingly absent from the newly recovered Sumerian version—and in favour of the view that it is "a legend, which had a basis of historical fact in the Euphrates valley." Even in the case of the Creation stories "an examination of their earlier forms . . . would seem to show that many of these tales also, or their origin, are not to be interpreted as nature myths and that none arose as mere reflections of the solar system," but "in their more primitive and simpler aspects they seem in many cases to have been suggested by very human and terrestrial experience." Particularly interesting is the enquiry into the evidence of a Sumerian belief in water as the origin of all things: in this connection Dr. King suggests a new restoration of the line, "Then were created the gods in the midst of . . . "; he would now restore as the missing words [their waters], not, as formerly [heaven]. The transition from the conception of the waters as the source of life to the later, more dominant conception of waters as destructive, he traces to the combination of the Dragon myth with that of Creation.

It must suffice to make a bare reference to the discussion of the new fragment of the Palermo Stele, and of the ancient Sumerian Dynastic List, or epitomized chronicle, with its striking general resemblance to Gen. v, and to the two appendixes, the first of which contains a valuable comparative table of the various stories of Creation, Antediluvian history and the Deluge discussed in the Lectures.

G. B. Gray.

De Arca Foederis: dissertatio archaeologoco-historica veteris Testamenti delineationibus ornata, a P. Gaudentio Orfali, O.F.M., Exarata.

This is a "Doctor's thesis" on a subject that has of late received much discussion, yet cannot be said to be exhausted. Dr. Orfali's is a well-arranged presentation and discussion of the Biblical and archaeological material, with a considerable number of well-chosen illustrations. The first and longest chapter discusses the form of the Ark, and compares it with similar objects among other peoples; the second chapter traces the history of the Ark, it being assumed that the narratives of the Pentateuch are Mosaic; a brief closing chapter considers the religious and national significance of the Ark. To those who are familiar with the recent literature of the subject, this treatise will bring little that is new, but as an examination of it from a certain point of view the treatise is useful and welcome.

G. B. Gray.

TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARABIC CONSONANTS.

HEBREW.

Hebrew.	English.		Hebrew.	English.
א	’		כ ך	kh
ב	b		ל	l
ב	bh		מ ם	m
ג	g		נ ן	n
ג	gh		ס	s
ד	d		ע	‘
ד	dh		פ	p
ה	h		פ	f
ו	v, w		צ ץ	z
ז	z		ק	k
ח	h		ר	r
ט	t		שׁ	sh
י	y		שׂ	s
כ	k		ת	t
			ת	th

ARABIC.

Arabic.	English.		Arabic.	English.
ا	’		ض	d
ب	b		ط	t
ت	t		ظ	tz
ث	th		ع	‘
ج	g	or j in Syrian Arabic.	غ	gh
ح	h		ف	f
خ	kh		ق	k
د	d		ك	k
ذ	dh		ل	l
ر	r		م	m
ز	z		ن	n
س	s		ه	h
ش	sh		و	w
ص	z		ي	y

Long vowels marked thus :—ā, ē, ī, ō, ū.

Photo. by Elliott & Fry.

LEONARD WILLIAM KING, M.A., LITT.D., F.R.G.S., F.S.A.,
LATE CHAIRMAN OF THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

THE

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

NOTES AND NEWS.

DIED

On the 20th August, 1919,

LEONARD WILLIAM KING,

Litt.D., F.S.A., F.R.G.S.

CHAIRMAN OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

DIED

On the 2nd September, 1919,

PROF. ALEXANDER MACALISTER,

F.R.S.

OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

SUBSCRIBERS will learn with deep regret that Dr. Leonard W. King, Chairman of the Executive Committee for the last two years, died on August 20th after a long illness. Not only is this a serious loss to the Palestine Exploration Fund, but it has suffered a

further loss in the death, on September 2nd, of Prof. Alexander Macalister, F.R.S., a most valued Member of the Executive Committee. For some account of the activity of these two officers of the Fund, see below, pp. 157–9.

At a special Meeting of the Committee on September 18th, it was unanimously decided to invite Mr. D. G. Hogarth, C.M.G., M.A., F.B.A., F.S.A., F.R.G.S., Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, to be Chairman of the Executive Committee. This wish was communicated to him, and he has replied favourably. Mr. Hogarth is well known as an archaeological explorer, geographer, and author; he has an unrivalled acquaintance with the Near East, and has shown a deep interest in the welfare of the Palestine Exploration Fund. The Committee feel sure that his willingness to act as Chairman will be regarded by the Subscribers as a good augury for the success of the Fund's work in the future.

The building of Jerusalem is attracting some considerable attention. The *Observer* (July 20th) reviews the plan prepared by Mr. W. H. McLean, M.Inst.C.E., engineer to the Alexandria municipality, which has been on exhibition in the architectural room at the Royal Academy, accompanied by a couple of photographs and a small model. Mr. Clair Price, the special correspondent of the *Daily Express* (issue of June 20th), also reports that Mr. Ashbee's plans are also on the way to realisation. The latter is proposing a renaissance of the arts and crafts which are native to Jerusalem; it is not his purpose to industrialize the city, but "under British occupation, however, the native population is to work out its own salvation." Ultimately each trade is to be gathered into its own bazaar, and a central school of native arts and crafts is to be established in and around the Citadel and the Turkish barracks, if archaeological considerations permit. "The repair of present buildings and construction of new buildings are to be in harmony with the ancient style. No more red tiled roofs are to be permitted, the low domed roofs which make up the bulk of the old city being insisted on. The holy places of Islam are to be restored to their original beauty, but only with materials of suitable fineness. The Christian and Jewish holy places are to receive no less jealous attention. One of Brigadier-General Storrs' first acts, on becoming military governor, was to see that the Via Dolorosa was cleaned out

and kept in a spotless condition. There is also the task of reducing the new town to the north and west of the walled city to some sort of order. To this end, Mr. Maclean's plan sets apart a wide area immediately outside the walls and entirely around the old city, as an area on which all building is for ever prohibited. The old city is to be given here the setting of a jewel. Outside this area is a second area, in which building is to be severely restricted. Outside the second area lies the great new city of Jerusalem, designed to accommodate a population of a million." Meanwhile, "Jerusalem property is undergoing the greatest boom in its history. Land in the vicinity is commanding as high as £240 an acre."

At the recent meeting of the Oriental Societies in London, Prof. Clermont-Ganneau described a Jewish mosaic inscription of the fourth or fifth century, which bombardment by the British guns near the Mount of Temptation, Jericho, had brought to light. It invited Jews to keep up their worship and to give generous contributions, without which the faith would not be fostered and charitable deeds extended. It was believed that scientific excavation of the site might yield important historical results.

A series of four articles on "Occupied Palestine" (*Morning Post*, June 19th–25th), after describing the serious work which has been undertaken by the reconstruction authorities, argues that, of the three harbours possessed by Palestine, and all bad ones, viz., Jaffa, Acre and Haifa, the last is destined to be the great port not only of Palestine, but of Southern Syria and the great wheat-bearing lands on the other side of the Jordan. This is on the assumption that the future of both Palestine and Syria is assured. The writer concludes:—"The valley of the lower Orontes, the fertile coast-plain of Philistia to the north and south of Gaza, the rich gardens round Tripoli and Sidon, neither the Beduins nor the Turks have been able to make desolate. Of what is at present called desert, a good portion is rather the laying waste of the blessed labour of better times. 'All Syria,' says a description of the earth from the middle of the fourth century, 'overflows with corn, wine and oil.' The noble wines of Ascalon, Gaza, Laodicea, and Damascus were sent to Persia, Egypt, Ethiopia, and India. Great linen, purple, silk, and glass industries enriched the country. The weaving of flax was at

at an early date transplanted here from Babylonia. . . . 'Scythopolis (now Beisan, between Haifa and Samakh), Laodicea, Byblus, Tyrus, Beritus send out their linen into all the world.' The province of Arabia, which includes the Hauran, was gained for civilisation, and the evidence of the wealth and the populousness strikes the traveller among the 'Giant Cities of Bashan' with awe at the present day as he surveys their deserted sites."

The series of articles by Dr. E. W. G. Masterman, entitled "Hygiene and Disease in Palestine in Modern and in Biblical Times," has been reprinted, with a Preface by Prof. Alexander Macalister, and is now on sale. These valuable and important articles deserve the careful attention both of students of the Bible and of all who are interested in modern Palestine. The future of Palestine, which we all hope will be happier and brighter than before the War, will so eminently depend upon the good health of its inhabitants, and in particular, of the settlers who have not had time to become acclimatised, that Dr. Masterman's publication is sure to find a warm welcome and supply a want. Fuller particulars can be had on application to the Assistant Secretary at the Offices of the Fund.

E. H. B., writing a long review in the *Near East* (Aug. 22nd), considers that, in Dr. Masterman's book, we have "skilfully compressed not only a comprehensive sanitary survey of modern Palestine but also a weighty contribution to Biblical criticism." He emphasizes its practical value in connection with modern plans for opening out Palestine, the success of which must depend upon the success with which disease and the factors that bring disease are rooted out. He concludes: "it is on the pioneer work of men like Dr. Masterman that, one trusts, will eventually be raised the structure of the model State we all hope to see established in Palestine now that Armageddon has been fought and won."

The Committee would be very glad if subscribers would be disposed to present to the Fund sets or volumes of the *Memoirs of the Survey of Western Palestine* and also of the *Quarterly Statement.*

A correspondent writes: "There are several collections of what may be termed Palestine literary antiquities, the publication of

which has been postponed for a long time. The most important series is probably that of the Samaritan Ostraca. Another quantity of similar records, collected by M. Clermont-Ganneau when excavating at Elephantine, is somewhere in Paris. More ostraca from this site are believed to be in Berlin in the care of Dr. Sachau. At the Louvre there are a number of newly-obtained Tell el-Amarna Tablets, for the editing of which we may look to M. Thureau-Dangin. Now that the war is ended it is to be hoped that an adequate description of these relics will soon be forthcoming."

The Rev. Stooke-Vaughan, of Wellington Heath Vicarage, Ledbury, writes apropos of Mr. Offord's remarks on the stones set up in the Jordan (*Q.S.*, July), that the Syriac version throws light on this passage, as indeed it does on many Old Testament difficulties. "The Hebrew, as translated in Joshua iv, 9, reads: 'And Joshua set up twelve stones in the midst of Jordan in the place where the feet of the Priests which bare the Ark of the Covenant stood, and they are there unto this day.' The Syriac has: 'And the twelve stones they set up *which they had taken* from the midst of Jordan from under the feet of the Priests which bare the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord, and they are there unto this day.' The difference in the English—the words 'which they had taken'—is only one word in the Syriac, and I suggest that the mistake arose from the confusion of the Hebrew for Joshua and the Hebrew for 'they took up.' From this we see that the Syriac says nothing about the twelve stones being placed and left in the midst of the Jordan, or of its being commanded. Moreover there is another reason for thinking the Syriac correct; verse 8 speaks only of the stones taken out of the Jordan being laid down in the lodging-place, so that verse 9 just fits in when it says that they set up these stones which they had taken out of the midst of the Jordan, as in verse 20 it records that they were set up in Gilgal."

The Rev. Charles Greig kindly draws our attention to a slip which found its way into the article by Father Vincent, which was published in the July *Quarterly Statement*—extracts of which, by the way, appear in *Palestine*, July 26. On p. 110, ninth line from the end, read "an extraordinary profusion of broken pipe-bowls."

In *The Homiletic Review*, Aug., 1919, "G. W. G." writes upon Prof. Flinders Petrie's book, *Eastern Exploration, Past and Present*, and points out "if ministers of religion could realize," as they can from his chapters, "the importance for their own work of the matters dealt with here, they would be much more intimately interested in the discovery and proper preservation of archaeological objects. They would also make vocal their conviction that this is necessary, and could accomplish much in securing these ends."

Among the many accounts of experiences in Palestine by those whom the War has taken thither, that by Mr. R. C. Wyndam, of the American Red Cross, in the *Sunday School Chronicle* (June 12th), is of special interest for his remarks on natural history. From it we extract the following:—"There is another very interesting study for the traveller in Palestine, namely, that of its winged creatures and its reptiles. The Holy Land abounds in every kind of these. Turtle-doves of the Scripture are to be found in abundance, wild and tame; the wood pigeon comes in myriads in the winter, and in contrast to these, every raven 'after his kind'; the crow tribe of every species is numerous. Birds of prey are many, from the eagle and the great griffon vulture to the sparrow-hawk In the deep tropical valley of the Jordan there is a sort of aviary of real tropical birds which found there a refuge from the last glacial epoch; the lovely sun-bird or Jericho humming-bird, the white-breasted king-fisher and a species of gregarious thrush. The great Indian fishing owl is found in the East, and among the rocks of Marsaba the monks have half tamed the orange-winged blackbird, which is in reality a starling of African type. Some of these are so tame as to feed from the hand like the pigeons of Venice. One of the prettiest birds peculiar to Palestine is the little Moabite sparrow which lives in reed beds, and is one of the rarest birds in the world. Reptiles of all sorts abound, and even the Nile crocodile, the leviathan of the Bible, a specimen of which was nearly twelve feet long. In addition to the African cobra the grass snake is found among the harmless species, and the wicked little horned viper still lies in wait, as in the olden times, to bite the heels of the horses so that 'the rider falls backwards.'"

An appeal for further contributions to the reconstruction of the University of Louvain, is sent by Henry Grippy, Librarian of the John Rylands Library (March, 1919).

In 1876 the Society published a volume of Photographs of Biblical Sites, by Lieut. H. H. Kitchener, R.E., F.R.G.S., containing twelve photographs taken by Lord Kitchener during the time he was at work on the Survey of Western Palestine, together with a short description of each written by himself. Some of the views taken are no longer obtainable, as new buildings have sprung up everywhere, altering or marring old sites. The descriptions, though so short, are charmingly written, and show what a strong feeling Lord Kitchener had for the Holy Land. He took the keenest interest and pleasure in the preparation of this, his only book, as his letters show, though the actual publication of it was left in Sir Walter Besant's hands, as Lord Kitchener returned to Palestine before it was in proof. There are about forty copies of this book still unsold, and these can be had on application to the office of the Society, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W., at the original price of one guinea, postage extra.

Fifty Years' Work in the Holy Land: A Record and a Summary, 1865–1915.—Under this title the late Colonel Sir C. M. Watson, K.C.M.G., etc., gave an entirely new revision of that *résumé* of the work of the Fund which has been issued from time to time in order to furnish readers, and—especially—new subscribers with a synoptical account of the more important aims and achievements. Such accounts have been published in 1870, 1872, 1886, and 1895, so that twenty years have passed since the last revision—years during which most valuable excavations have been undertaken, notably at Gezer. The year 1915 being the Jubilee of the Palestine Exploration Fund a new edition was especially appropriate, and old subscribers as well as new will find that the book by the late Chairman of the Executive Committee gives an admirable bird's-eye view of the work of the Fund. Although space allows the book to provide only the bare outlines of what has been done, the material is so arranged as to include all information necessary to explain the different expeditions and excavations. A map is also appended containing all the important names and sites. Chapters are written on the reason why the P.E.F. was established; the foundation of the Society in 1865; the preliminary reconnaissance of Palestine, 1865–6; the explorations at Jerusalem, 1867–70; the expedition to the Desert of the Exodus, 1869–70; the survey of Western Palestine in 1871–7; the survey of Eastern Palestine in 1881–2;

the geological expedition and survey of the Arabah in 1883–4; the excavations at Lachish, Jerusalem, etc. (five chapters), the survey of Southern Palestine in 1913–14; the Palestine Pilgrims' Texts, and a concluding chapter on the administration of the Society. There are two appendices: the chronology of the P.E.F., and the chronology of the publications. The book is published by the Committee of the Fund, and can be had on application to the Assistant Secretary. Price, 3*s.* 6*d.* Postage extra.

The Committee have brought out a new edition of the ($\frac{3}{8}$ in. to the mile) Map of Western Palestine, of which the original edition has been for some time out of print. It is in two large sheets, and is, primarily, a travellers' map. The roads and railways constructed since the original survey have been added. For the sake of clearness, only the modern names are given. The hill shading is in a lighter tint for the same reason. All the country beyond that actually surveyed is shown in outline only. In a few years it may be possible to add much of this in a further edition. In the meantime, this is the clearest map and the easiest to consult of any yet issued by the Society. The price of the complete map is 7*s.* 6*d.* If desired, the map can be mounted on linen to fold, or on rollers, 15*s.* 6*d.* Subscriber's price, 6*s.* unmounted and 13*s.* mounted. Postage extra.

The Library of the Palestine Exploration Fund contains many duplicate volumes, including standard works by Robinson, Ritter, Stanley and others. They may be had separately, and a list, with the price of each volume, has been prepared, and can be obtained on application.

The list of books received will be found below, pp. 104, 105.

The Committee will be glad to communicate with ladies and gentlemen willing to help the Fund as Honorary Local Secretaries.

Plaster casts of the raised contour maps (large and small) of Jerusalem have been prepared and can now be had on application. The horizontal scale of the large map is $\frac{1}{2500}$ and the total dimensions are 5 feet by 4 feet 3 inches. The remains of the city walls and streets

discovered on the Eastern and Western Hills are indicated in red lines. This map will be a most valuable help to the study of Jerusalem topography. Price £3 3*s*. Case and packing extra. The scale of the smaller map is $\frac{1}{10000}$ and the size 20 inches square. Price without addition of early walls and streets £1 5*s*.

It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but they are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers.

Subscribers who have not yet paid will greatly facilitate the Committee's efforts by sending in their subscriptions without further delay, and thus save the expense of sending out reminders.

Subscribers to the Fund are reminded that, whilst the receipt of every subscription and contribution is promptly acknowledged by the Assistant Secretary, they are now published annually. A complete List of Subscribers and Subscriptions for 1918 is published in the Annual Report.

Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre, the last work of the late Major-General Sir Charles Wilson, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., F.R.S., D.C.L., LL.D., etc. In this work our former Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund has brought together for the first time all the evidence which the most exhaustive research enabled him to collect bearing on the subject of these Holy Sites; and probably no man living had at once so intimate a knowledge of all investigations in the modern Jerusalem and so complete an acquaintance with what has been written about the Sites from the time of Constantine onwards. The price of the work (demy 8vo) is 6*s*., by post 6*s*. 4*d*.

A complete set of the *Quarterly Statements*, 1869–1910, containing some of the early letters (now scarce), with an Index, 1869–1910, bound in the Palestine Exploration Fund cases, can be had. Price on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.

The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index,

bound in cloth, is £10 10*s*. A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.

The Museum at the office of the Fund, 2, Hinde Street. Manchester Square, W., is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 4, except Saturdays, when it is closed at 1 p.m.

Subscribers in U.S.A. to the work of the Fund will please note that they can procure copies of any of the publications from the Rev. Prof. Lewis B. Paton, Ph.D., Honorary General Secretary to the Fund, 50, Forest Street, Hartford, Conn.

The Committee have to acknowledge with thanks, among other journals and books, the following :—

A Description of the Historic Monuments of Cyprus: Studies in the Archaeology and Architecture of the Island, by George Jeffrey, F.S.A. (Cyprus, 1918.)

The Expository Times.

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, July-Dec., 1918.

The Scottish Geographical Magazine, June-July, 1919.

Bible Lands, April.

Prophecy concerning the Rōsh Kelalah, 1919 (J. Sands, Ltd., Sydney).

Palestine.

Pro-Israel (Salonica).

Transactions of the Royal Canadian Institute, May, 1919.

The Jewish Quarterly Review, July, 1919: Megillath Taanith and Jewish History, Dr. Zeitlin; The Book of Esther in the Light of History, Dr. Hoschander, etc.

The American Journal of Archaeology, 1919, II.

The American Journal of Philology, 1919, XL, 2.

Art and Archaeology, June, 1919.

The Smithsonian Institution: Report of the United States National Museum for the year ending June 30, 1918.

The Jewish Theological Seminary, S. S. Cohen (1919).

The Homiletic Review, Aug., 1919: The Empire of the Amorites, by G. W. G.; The Last Voyage and Shipwreck of Saint Paul, by Lieut. Edwin Smith; A Turning Point in Archaeological Work, by G. W. G.

Revue Biblique, Jan.–April, 1919 : Les mystères d'Éleusis et le christianisme, R. P. Lagrange ; Une chapelle byzantine à Beit el-Djemal, R. P. F. M. Abel ; L'église de Gethsémani ; Nouvelles de Jérusalem, R. P. L. H Vincent.

Journal Asiatique, 1918, Nov.–Dec.

The Committee will be glad to receive donations of Books to the Library of the Fund, which already contains many works of great value relating to Palestine and other Bible lands.

The Committee desire to acknowledge with thanks the following contribution to the Library :—

From Mrs. Ross Scott :—

In the Land of the Pharaohs, by Duse Mohamed.

From Mr. Crace :—

Set of *Quarterly Statements*, from 1870–1917.

From General Sir Charles Warren :—

The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, by Col. C. R. Conder, R.E.

Syrian Stone Lore, ditto.

The Hittites and their Language, ditto.

Genesis, in two Vols., by Dr. A. Dillman. Translated by Wm. B. Stevenson, B.D.

The Rock Cut Temples of India, by James Fergusson, F.R.S.

One Primeval Language, by the Rev. Chas. Foster.

The Temple and its Services, by the Rev. Dr. Edersheim.

The History of the Temple of Jerusalem, by the Rev. James Reynolds.

The Dawn of Civilization, by Prof. Maspero. Edited by Prof. Sayce.

The Higher Criticism of the Monuments, by Prof. Sayce.

The Tradition of the Flood, by J. Prestwich, D.C.L., F.R.S., F.G.S.

Adam and the Adamites, by M'Causland, Q.C., LL.D.

Gesenius's Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon.

Greek Septuagint.

Jerusalem Sous Terre, by H. V.

The Committee will be grateful to any subscribers who may be disposed to present to the Library any of the following books :—

The Memoirs of the Survey of Western Palestine.

The Quarterly Statement.

Duc de Luynes, *Voyage à la Mer Morte* (1864); published about 1874.

K. von Raumer, *Der Zug der Israeliten.* (Leipzig, 1837.)

Lagarde, *Onomastica Sacra* (1887).

The Antonine Itinerary—an edition by Parthey and Pindar was published in 1847 at Berlin. An edition in Russian is also extant, but is therefore not available save to the few who know that language.

For list of authorised lectures and their subjects, kindly write to the Secretary.

Whilst desiring to give publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they do not necessarily sanction or adopt them.

Form of Bequest to the Palestine Exploration Fund.

I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of ____ to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund; and I direct that the said sum be paid, free of Legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge for the same.

Note.—*Three Witnesses are necessary to a Will by the Law of the United States of America, and Two by the Law of the United Kingdom.*

OBITUARY NOTICES.

The Palestine Exploration Fund has suffered two serious losses at a time when it could least afford them (see p. 145). Prof. King and Prof. Alexander Macalister have been valuable workers on behalf of the Fund, the former as Chairman and the latter as Member of the Executive Committee. Prof. King had acted as Chairman, as successor to Colonel Sir Charles Watson, and was an Assyriologist of the first rank with a varied practical experience of excavation in the East. Prof. Macalister of Cambridge was a leading anatomist, but also a man of wide if not encyclopaedic knowledge which included Celtic archaeology and Egyptology. He was long a regular attendant at the Committee meetings, and when his son, Prof. R. A. Stewart Macalister, was excavating in Palestine he made some lengthy visits and gave him much valuable assistance.

A correspondent in the *Times* (Aug. 25th) writes: "By the premature death . . . . of Dr. Leonard William King, at the age of 49, science loses a brilliant scholar in the field of Assyriology. Not only had he a European reputation on the literary side, but his vigorous personality and love of open air and adventure led him also to travel, to see and excavate the palaces of ancient Assyrian kings—a dual capacity so often demanded of archaeologists nowadays. Educated at Rugby and King's College, Cambridge, he entered the Egyptian and Assyrian Department of the British Museum shortly after he came down. . . . . Not long after, he made a trip to Mesopotamia with a view to making excavations, and, as a result, he re-opened a year later the diggings on the site of Kouyunjik (Nineveh), where he worked for more than a year for the British Museum, until dysentery compelled him to return home and relinquish his place to a colleague. During this period of excavation he made an expedition into Persia to re-copy the great Inscription of Darius on the rock face at Behistun (which Sir Henry Rawlinson had previously published in the early days of his decipherment of cuneiform), and he and his colleague camped for a fortnight beneath the inscription in order to carry out the task. The whole text was satisfactorily re-copied, with the help of ropes

and tackling, and ultimately published by the British Museum with a full translation. It would be unnecessary to quote more than a few of King's works, which are all well known to Semitic scholars, but perhaps the monumental history of Babylonia, on which he was engaged at the time of his death, stands first of all his publications. . . . . He became a Litt.D. (Cambridge) early in his career, and was a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries; King's College, London, also elected him Professor of Assyrian and Babylonian Archaeology. Those who worked with him can testify to one of the noble points of his character, always to be found in the unselfish masters of craft, that he never forgot his juniors, was ever ready to help them, and was scrupulously careful that they should have the credit for all the work they did. After the war broke out he put his knowledge of the Near East at the disposal of the Government in London. He leaves a wife and one son and daughter."

The Secretary of the Fund, Mr. J. D. Crace, wrote in the *Times* (Wednesday, Aug. 27th): "Our late much-valued Chairman, Colonel Sir Charles Watson, died in the spring of 1916, and was succeeded by Dr. Leonard King upon the unanimous vote of the Committee. At this time the investigation of Palestine itself had been stopped by the war; but the Committee have a most grateful sense of Dr. King's advice and keen interest, not only in their present publications but in their projects for future work. To him is also due the initiation of the scheme for the foundation of a British School of Archaeology at Jerusalem, under the joint action of the Palestine Exploration Fund and the British Academy, now maturing. Dr. King's genial and kindly disposition and his unaffected modesty made all asssociation with him a pleasure."

Of Prof. Macalister the *Times* (Sept. 3rd) says that he "was born in Dublin in 1844 and was educated at Trinity College, Dublin. He was for a time Demonstrator of Anatomy at the College of Surgeons, and in 1869 he became Professor of Zoology at the University of Dublin, and eight years later Professor of Anatomy and Chirurgery. In 1883 he succeeded the late Prof. Sir George Humphrey in the Professorship of Anatomy, which had been founded by the university in 1707. Prof. Macalister was the first Professor of Anatomy who did not practise, but devoted himself entirely to the teaching and advancement of his subject. He was a singularly successful lecturer and, in spite of his considerable age, during the whole period of the war he carried on the work of his department

with unfailing vigour. . . . . He was a man of wide culture. His early books dealt with animal morphology, and he was the author of numerous memoirs and text books for students in zoology and physiology. For a long time he was the editor of one of the chief anatomical publications. He was a pillar of the Presbyterian Church at Cambridge, and took a large part in the foundation of Westminster College, which is devoted to the training of Presbyterian ministers, and in the building of St. Columba's Church in Cambridge. He was also a well-known Egyptologist and had travelled extensively, especially in the East, where for a time one of his sons was Director of Excavations under the Palestine Exploration Fund. This son, Dr. R. A. S. Macalister, now holds the Professorship of Celtic Archaeology at University College, Dublin. . . . . He was a man of singularly kind disposition, ever ready to help, and he will be mourned by a long series of Cambridge medical men."

THE IMMOVABLE EAST.

By Philip J. Baldensperger.

(*Continued from Q.S.*, 1919, *p.* 122.)

Natural History Notes—(*continued*).

Serpents.

Serpents are called *ḥeye*[*t*] (حيّة), "the living," and, as already remarked, they are not very carefully distinguished, being thought to be all more or less poisonous. They are not made the subject of any special study, except by the Dervishes, and they keep their secrets to themselves.

In Gen. iii, 1, the serpent is called *nāḥāsh* (נָחָשׁ); *cf.* the brazen serpent made by Moses in the wilderness (Numb. xxi, 9, נְחַשׁ נְחֹשֶׁת). The name seems to linger on in the dark bluish coluber (*ḥanash*, حنش), with that re-arrangement of consonants which is very frequently met with when we compare the Arabic and Hebrew

languages. This coluber (*Zamenis viridiflavus*, var. *carbonarius*) is the hero of many legends. Though it is harmless in reality, it is the longest but not the biggest of serpents.

On account of the confusion of colour, noise and activity of almost all kinds of serpents, it is very difficult to say which particular one is referred to in such and such a passage, the reason being that the Hebrews, like the modern fellahīn, knew very little about them, yet distinguished some kinds as being less poisonous than others.

The deadly *Daboia xanthina* (*za'ara*[*t*] زعرة), with its short tail, and the *tarsha* (طرشة), which is deaf to the charmer's verses, as the Dervishes say, is, no doubt, "the deaf adder that stoppeth her ear," (Ps. lviii, 4, Heb. *pethen*) and "those that will not be charmed" (Jer. viii, 17, Heb. *nāhāsh*). The *zif'ōnī* (צִפְעֹנִי), mentioned in the latter passage, is no particular kind, but any stinging serpent. It is the best-known serpent in Judaea—the daboia; so, when the Sage says: "At the last the wine biteth like a *nāhāsh*, and stingeth like a *zif'ōni*" (Prov. xxiii, 32, adder), he means the same dangerous serpent.

The cobra, which happily only occurs south of Gaza, is as deadly as the daboia; in Egypt it is known as the *af'ah*.

The small viper which occurs near the Dead Sea, Engeddi, etc., and coils itself in small depressions of the road, is also called *af'ah*, and corresponds to the *eph'eh* (אֶפְעֶה) of Isa. xxx, 6. Probably this is also "the serpent of the wayside, and the adder (*shĕphīphōn*, שְׁפִיפֹן) in the path, that biteth the horse heels" (Gen. xlix, 17).

The cerastes or horned viper (*hantīt*, حنشيت) is equally rare, and is only found in sandy places, where it can easily burrow, leaving nothing visible but its horns to attract small birds. This may be the *saraph* (שָׂרָף), the fiery stinging serpent which did so much harm among the Israelites in the sandy wastes. Brehm, the eminent naturalist, says that these vipers hide in the sand, so that a place may be infested with them and nobody may know anything about their presence; but in the evening, when the camp fires are burning, they appear on every side coming towards the fire, seemingly to enjoy the sight. This may be another reason for calling them "the fiery serpents" (Num. xxi, 6, הַנְּחָשִׁים הַשְּׂרָפִים) which infested the country, and which stung the Israelites by night, although

in the daytime they had seen nothing of them in the place where they encamped. This viper may frequent the unexplored region north of the Gulf of 'Akaba.

The harmless snakes are more active and lively, and as they are snakes that appear during the daytime, whilst the others are night snakes, they are more often encountered.

Coluber aesculapii—the *hamrat* (حمرة), so called on account of the red which is about its neck and its brownish colour, is the fiercest serpent. I have been attacked by an enormous one measuring over two and a half metres in length in the Dom Forest in the Jordan Valley. But just as it was darting at me, with the peculiar whistling characteristic of serpents, a bedawy shot and killed it. Another one actually flew at me near Rubine (Philistia) and bit me in the ear. I was able to capture it. The bite is very insignificant, hardly as strong as the bite of a mouse and not so dangerous, but it needs good nerves to stand up to one, for although we know it is harmless, we cannot escape a certain feeling of aversion. I have known my horse to tremble because of a coluber of this size. Men have even been known to use the sword against them, so daring are they when they attack; on the other hand the deadly *daboia* is lazy, and cannot so much as coil itself and reach the arm when held by the tail with the arm stretched out, because its weight is too heavy for it.

The *Zamenis viridiflavus* – the *heyet el-beit* (حية البيت), "the house-serpent," is so called because it is very often found in houses where it feeds on rats and mice. It is grey with black spots, resembling the daboia and the *Zamenis*, var. *carbonarius*, the beautiful bluish serpent. Both are very easily angered, and this disposition has also given the latter of the two the name of *'Arbēd* (عربيد), "the quarreller." Though more showy because of their colours, they never live very long in captivity in the small leather bag of the Dervish; nor do they like to take food—live lizards or small serpents—so readily as does the aesculapius serpent, which is easily tamed and accepts food very willingly. The aesculapius does not change its skin so often as the carbonarius, which is also a great advantage to the serpent charmers.

In view of the above-mentioned three kinds of serpents, it is easily understood why they were called "flying serpents" (Isa. xxx, 6).

The *Coluber quadrilineatus* (four-lined coluber) is called *nashābe*[*t*] (نشابة), "the arrow-serpent." But I must aver that I never saw one fly as an arrow, though it makes short leaps, which, however, are nothing to be compared with the aesculapius and others. The hydra (*Tropidonotus hydrus natrix—Heyet el-Ma*, حية الما) is spotted like *Viridiflavus*, and can easily be confused by the casual observer; but it is always either in water or in damp and marshy grounds. In Solomon's Pools there are thousands to be seen enjoying the water, as long as there is any, and hiding below the tall grass, or in cracks formed in the mud in summer. They are not bad-tempered and retire very quickly, though, when in a fix, they sometimes defend themselves, especially by blowing. This is, perhaps, more due to fear than to anger. I used to handle them by the dozen as a boy, but they have a fearful stench about them, and are, perhaps, the most disagreeable to touch.

The *rabda* (ربده), a grey snake, and the *naksha*[*t*] (نقشة), "the painted," and the *rakta*[*t*] (رقطة), "the spotted," are various names which are given to several snakes indifferently, according to the colour.

The *Eryx jaculus*, the beautiful little sand serpent, called *barjīl* (برجيل), is supposed to be very dangerous, but is, in fact, the most harmless of all snakes.

They are all supposed to eat dust, as was thought by the Hebrews (Gen. iii, 14; Micah vii, 17), though lizards, birds and smaller quadrupeds form their principal nourishment.

The lizard tribe is very well distinguished each one by its name. The biggest of all is the *Psammosaurus scincus* (*waran*, ورن). It sometimes attains a length of 1½ metres. It lives chiefly on serpents and smaller reptiles in the maritime plains from Jaffa, which is its furthest point in the north, to Egypt. The Sand Arabs protect them because they destroy serpents. A bedawin woman near Rubine of whom I asked information concerning a *waran*, whose traces I had seen in the sand, in spite of my offering her a mejidi merely to tell me where it lived, refused, saying that she would not be a traitor to her protector not even if I doubled or trebled the price. She called him "her *waran*" who cleared the neighbourhood of venomous animals. When the *waran* is approached and is not able to escape, it blows itself out and then empties itself like a

bellows, darts at the person and bites him. Its teeth, though very sharp and about $\frac{3}{8}$ of an inch long, break very easily, but its jaws are very strong, so that it is difficult to stop it when it is biting. Another very disagreeable feature is the stroke it gives with its strong tail, measuring about half the length of the whole animal. It is with its tail that it kills serpents, as with a whip. It swallows its victims alive and whole as the serpents do.

The existence of the crocodile in some rare marshes about Caesarea and the *waran* or *waral* have perhaps given rise to many fabulous creatures, such as the often mentioned *tannīn* or dragon. The *tannīn* most probably was the *waran* in some cases and the crocodile in others. When Ezekiel (xxi, 3), speaks of Pharaoh as the great dragon, he means the crocodile. But when the inhabitants of the plains speak of it, they mean the *waran*. Job says "he is a brother to dragons and owls" (Job xxx, 29); but the R.V. translates "jackals" and "ostriches" respectively.

The *waran* is perhaps the easiest to tame and bring up of all the lizard tribe. My two girls, aged 2 and 5 years, had a pet one which they carried about like a doll; it never attempted to bite or blow at them after it had been tamed. The *waran* has beautiful yellow-brown eyes, and a yellow hue incrusted with brown, black or grey designs. It has a long cloven tongue, which it darts out continually; this double tongue gives rise to many fables. As serpents have a double pointed tongue they were thought to be poisonous. Many people have thought that reptiles sting with their tongues; even Job says: "The viper's tongue shall slay him" (Job xx, 16), and we also read of the "poison of dragons."

The *ḥardōne* (حردون), or stellio-lizard, is one of the best known among Palestine lizards, and in spite of its shy character is a constant companion of man. It lives everywhere; rocks and fields afford it shelter and food, but nowhere is it so numerous as about the fellahīn villages, where it finds plenty of flies, ants and small insects, so necessary for its sustenance. It may be called the ugliest reptile in Palestine. It is grey or dark, with spiny tail, a flat and broad arrow-shaped head, and low eyes hidden under projecting eyebrows of bone. It runs on the flat ground as well as up and down walls, trees and especially olive-trees. It is best known for its habit of shaking its head when on an eminence. It then looks as though it were rising from prayer. It then lies down again. The boys, therefore, call out to it:—

"Say your prayers, O Hardōne!
Your mother died in the oven."

salli sallatak ya ḫardōne,
imak matat fit tabone.

صلي صلاتك يا حردون
امك ماتت في الطبون

The *ḫardōne* cannot be tamed but remains savage. It is another of the best known lizards, and in spite of its shy character, whence its name, *ḫarada* (حرد), "to be effeminate," all kinds of stories are told about it. It brings fire to the grave of believers, whereas the slender green lizard quenches the fire. It is also accursed because, at the flight of the Prophet, it was above the cave where Mohammed hid, and, being asked whether he were inside, it affirmatively wagged its head (its natural movement).

In the villages of the plain, it is employed to help to steal tobacco by being bound to a long string and then thrown on the roofs which are filled with tobacco. With its long claws it takes hold of the plants and, on being drawn back, brings a bundle of the weed.

Serpents are very fond of all kinds of lizards, and as the *ḫardōne* is very commonly found, it often falls a victim. A man told me—though it is exaggerated—that a *ḫardōne* was running for its life, but seeing the serpent at its heels, it picked up a piece of wood in its mouth and turned towards the serpent with the wood across. Whenever the serpent opened its mouth to swallow it, the wood hindered the swallowing process, till at last the serpent gave up the job, and Master *ḫardōne* went victoriously away. Many other stories are told of him.

A *waran* that had swallowed several *ḫardōnes* for its dinner had had enough, so left one of them, as the meal was sufficient for several days. In the meanwhile the two became friends, and lived on intimate terms months afterwards. The *waran* would put its arm around its friend by night, and although strange *ḫardōnes* were eaten, this one remained untouched. As a rule the *ḫardōne* shows no emotion, but the *waran* manifests its feelings by darting its tongue or, if angry, by making a puffing noise. The word *ḫardone* is always masculine.

The chameleon, *ḫerbā* (حربا), is considered to be feminine and, though also well-known, is by far not so common as the *ḫardōne* and

only appears when the leaves are out. It is remarkable for the peculiar structure of its body, the queer toes made to hold the branches or twigs in climbing, the monkey-like tail, and the tongue coiled up in a pouch below the chin—it darts out its tongue like an arrow four or five inches towards a fly—the movable eyes, such that it can look with one pyramidal eye up and with the other down, or before and behind, and last but not least the power of changing its colour according to the occasion. It is believed to be very poisonous when it darts out its tongue—*even to the distance of forty yards*, as an old learned man very seriously insisted. Needless to say, it is harmless and has a tongue not exceeding the length of the body.

I had dozens of chameleons in a cage, all mixed together, males, females and young. The males alone have the power of becoming quite leaf-green; and when several males are in one cage, the chief or strongest male *alone* allows itself the luxurious distinction of becoming green. Like a monarch among the harem it surveys the herd of subjects, and the insolent youngster, who dares to put on the sacred colour, receives a furious correction from the master, and immediately, as a sign of submission, turns *grey* and lies down flat; for this is another peculiarity of the chameleons, that their body is higher than broad, with a sort of camel's back—whence the name. For several hours it will remain grey, till the memory has vanished, and then it tries again.

The females have not the power to become so vividly green as the males, but they have peculiar greyish and yellowish spots which they produce on the sides in a coquettish way to please the master; they are also jealous, and will not allow young rivals the privilege of having colours. They change colours from what is almost white to an almost dark black, but the above-named spots can be detected if carefully examined. When angry they blow like the *waran*. This curious reptile may be the *ḥōmeṭ* (חֹמֶט) of Lev. xi, 30 (R.V., however, "sand-lizard").

The chameleon also serves as a fortune-teller for the boys. They put it under a cap and then go round in a circle, saying three times: "Oh! Chameleon, my sister's daughter, tell me my luck! Is it red, black or white?" They then take away the cap, and draw omens—white is luck, black is sorrow, red is enmity, and so on.

The *Gongylus ocellatus* is called *raḍā'a*[*t*] (رضاعة), *i.e.* "the sucker," because this beautiful lizard, which is often among the herds in

order to catch insects, is believed to suck the milk of the goats. There is some ground for the belief. Its chief characteristics are: a very smooth body, long neck and bright colours—yellow with orange and green stripes. The tail grows with astonishing rapidity when cut off, and is said to become another lizard, and if the tail is only badly bruised, a second tail will grow out of the bruise.

The sand lizard (*Lacerta agilis*), *zaḥliye[t]* (صحلية), is a small grey-yellow lizard, blood-red underneath the tail. This small lizard is rarely over five inches long, and swarms in the maritime plains. It makes its holes in the sand. When it comes forth it stretches itself out and shakes its two hind legs as though it were learning to swim. It is not very shy, and can easily be seen in the fields running after grasshoppers, or stopping to look quite astonished as if to ask what interest have you in looking at it? The prophet Micah, in his meditations, must have certainly watched this lizard, and it suggests the idea of comparing it to the nations: "they shall come *trembling* as the *lizards* of the earth in their holes" (Micah, vii, 17).

The mastiguer (*Uromastix spinipes*), *dab* (ضب), somewhat resembles the *ḥardōne*, but has a smoother body and more spiny tail. It is only found in the south of Palestine. Its name is derived from its slow movements. Being, at the same time, very fat, the bedu of the Judaean desert eat it. It is the *zāb* of Lev. xi, 29 (A.V. tortoise; R.V. great lizard).

The gecko (*Ptyodactylus hasselquistii*) has several names, *jeckah* (جكه) from the sound it emits when pursuing the female; *sām baraz* (سام برص), from the belief that it is poisonous, and has leper poison in it, *abu brez* (ابو بريص), "father of leprosy." It lives in town houses, not in the houses of the fellahīn, probably because of the smoke which fills the room. It also haunts the clefts of rocks. It lays comparatively large eggs, about the size of a small hazel nut, yet, itself, it is not more than three inches long. It sticks them to the roofs of the houses where it lives or of the rocks or caves.

The gecko changes its colour according to the place where it lives, not in a few minutes—as does the chameleon—but in the course of months. A gecko in a white-washed house will become almost white, and one on grey rocks will become grey, on dark rocks dark, and so forth. Having small paws adapted specially for

climbing and adhering to walls and smooth surfaces, it is always found there, never on the ground or in an open field. It is the *kōăḥ* of Lev. xi, 30; it is so called for the same reason as the *jeckah* of the Arabs, the sound being thus: *jec* in an undertone, and *kah* louder, separated by a slight pause.

The *Scincus officinalis*, a brilliant little lizard, called *ḥalābe[ṭ]* (حلابة), in Judaea, haunts houses and ruins, and lies almost motionless in the sun. With its tiny feet it glides away rather than runs, and, when taken in the hand, seems to be covered with some slippery though quite dry substance, so easily does it slip from the hand. It seems as polished as the finest granite. This is, perhaps, the *lĕṭāah* (לטאה) of Lev. xi, 30.

(*To be continued.*)

STONE ALTARS AND CUP-MARKS IN SOUTH PALESTINE.

By Douglas P. Blair, Capt. R.A.M.C.

I. Notes on some Stone Altars in Palestine.

The following notes were made during the recent operations in Palestine in 1917–18. They refer to engraved rocks which appear to have served as altars in early times.[1]

1. The first was observed at Deir Eyûb on November 25th, 1917. This rock is situated on the south-western slope of the hill upon which the village is built and to the right of the small path running from the Wadi Ali across the hills to the village of Yâlo. It is reniform in contour, and has a perfectly horizontal surface engraved with cups and grooves. The principal part of the engraving is composed of three parts—a shallow cup, a circular groove, and a deep basin. A short straight channel connects the small cup with the circular gutter, while the latter leads directly into the larger reservoir. The long axis of the design lies almost exactly north and south.

[1] [Only a selection of the illustrations sent by Capt. Blair have been reproduced. The rest are preserved at the offices of the Fund. The scale is approximate.]

On close examination the small cup appears very much roughened inside, while the deep reservoir is quite smooth and has a concave bottom. The central, uncarved, portion of the design shows numerous scratchings, such as might have been produced by an axe or knife. The groove surrounding it is made up of a series of small pits so closely placed that they overlap and give one the impression that the whole carving has been done by some rotating implement, probably of flint, for this would be quite hard enough to enable the workman to carve the comparatively soft limestone with ease.

In a line with the main axis of this design, and at its northern end, there is another, smaller, shallow cup, which forms part of a similar design, but this time having its axis running east and west.

The general appearance is shown in fig. 1, and the following are the principal measurements:—

Large engraving.—Shallow cup, 13 to 14 cm. in diameter and 3·5 cm. in depth; circular channel, 44 to 46 cm. in diameter; width of gutter, 3·5 to 4 cm., and depth, 1·2 cm.; reservoir, 24 cm. in diameter and the same in depth.

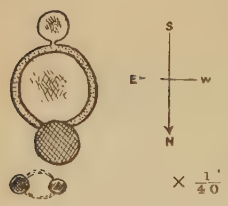


Fig. 1.
Carving on Stone Altar at Deir Eyūb, near Latron.

Small engraving.—Shallow cup is too much worn to measure. The groove also is so much worn that measurements would be of no value; in fact it has almost disappeared in parts. Reservoir, 7 cm. in diameter and 2 cm. in depth.

General Remarks.—That the rock has been used as an altar seems most probable—the cup and channel being for the blood of the sacrifice, and the large reservoir corresponding to the cavern under larger sacrificial stones, such as that under the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem. But the most interesting feature is the orientation of the designs. The larger one points due south, that is, to the sun when at its zenith. The smaller points to the setting sun. From this part of the hill the rising sun cannot be seen. Is it possible that this altar has been associated with sun-worship? It seems most likely, for the remaining altars of this type which I saw also had their main axes pointing due south.

Not far from this stone of sacrifice is a cave with crudely

bevelled entrance, unlike the majority of the rock tombs seen in Palestine. Leading up to the cave there is on each side a row of large blocks of stone with artificially smoothed vertical surfaces. It had been filled up almost to the roof with rubbish. The roof has been rendered smooth by a kind of cement, but there are no signs of pictographs, nor of carving on it. The rubbish contained small fragments of pottery, bones (human and canine) and mosaics of unpolished limestone, but all these had been recently disturbed, probably by the Turks or by bedawîn, who had been using caves as hiding places for their goods during the recent fighting. It is unfortunate that the cave had not been examined by some archaeologist before the contents were broken up and displaced. It may have been associated with the altar in some way in very early times, but it was probably also used for burial in a comparatively recent period when mosaic floors were common.

2. Between the Wadi Ali and the Valley of Ajalon there stands a low ridge which forks towards its western extremity. The more northerly branch terminates in a hill with a recently constructed cairn on its summit. On the lower hill adjoining this, and just above the village of Yâlo, a cave was found with a crudely bevelled entrance, resembling that of the cave at Deir Eyûb. Owing to this similarity, the possibility of the existence of another altar was suggested and a search made. Quite near the cave, a rock on a level with the ground was found with carving very like, but not identical with, that of No. 1. The general appearance is shown in fig. 2. In this case the shallow cup is almost obliterated, and instead of being drained by one gutter it has three, giving it the appearance of the Egyptian hieroglyph for daylight. These lead into a circular channel which, in turn, is emptied by a straight groove which gives off an oblique branch running towards the north-east. The two grooves then become somewhat indistinct, although both can be traced to their terminations. The main channel ends by turning abruptly to the east at right angles to its

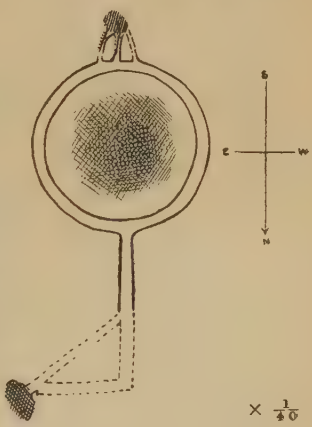


Fig. 2.
Stone Altar near Yâlo.

course, and joins the oblique branch just where it empties into a large natural depression in the rock. In the centre of the large circle there are scratches and general signs of wearing, as if from friction with a knife or axe. The orientation of the design is the same as in No. 1—the shallow cup lies to the south. From this point both the rising and the setting sun can be seen, but there is no sign of a second group of cups and grooves.

The dimensions are considerably greater than in the case of the last altar: Diameter of large circle, 87 cm. Length of straight channel to point of bifurcation, 41 cm.; width of channel, 5 to 6 cm.; depth, 1 to 1·5 cm. Width of circular groove, 6 to 8 cm.; depth, 1·5 cm.

A short distance to the east of the altar is a large cavity in the rock, mostly natural but partially cut, having the appearance of a great sarcophagus. It probably served for the storage of water. Such cisterns are common in Palestine, and it is impossible to say whether it was associated with the altar or not.

The above-mentioned altar was first seen and noted on December 1st, 1917.

3. On the right-hand side of the road, running from Dahariyeh to Hebron and near kilometer-stone 52, there is a flat rock with a horseshoe or kidney-shaped basin which can be easily seen from the road. On close examination it is seen to drain a shallow circular depression with a flat surface, which appears to take the place of the circular grooves of the other altars. At the southern extremity is a small cup, relatively smaller and deeper than those of the other two altars. Once more the axis points due south.

Another small depression lies to the south-west, but no further trace of design could be found. From the position of the altar the sun could be seen from its rising to its setting.

Measurements were taken and notes made on February 15th, 1918. The drawing is one-fiftieth of actual size.

The large reservoirs in these rocks may have been suggested by or may at first actually have been pot-holes. In No. 1 there is no sign now of such an origin, No. 2 is simply an irregularly shaped natural hollow, but No. 3 looks as if it might have been originally a pot-hole which has been altered slightly when the rock was converted into an altar.

II. Cup-marks.

Owing to the numerous pot-holes which are to be seen in the limestone rocks of Palestine, it is often difficult to be certain whether any given hollow is natural or artificial. When they occur in groups and have a definite arrangement, however, or when they are connected by artificially made grooves, it is safe to infer that they have been made by man. The cup-marks in Palestine can be divided into two groups: 1st, the simple cups occurring singly or in groups; and 2nd, the "cup-and-groove" combination. Of the former I shall merely mention the groups.

Simple groups of cups arranged in more or less parallel lines are fairly common, especially in the neighbourhood of wells and caves, the places most frequented. The most frequently occurring type is that with five parallel rows, each containing five. In one such group, which is to be seen on a rock near Dahariyeh (a drawing accompanies), the cups measure from 3 to 3·5 cm. in diameter. Prof. Flinders Petrie tells me this is for playing a game not unlike Reversi, and is a favourite pastime with the Arabs. It can be played with either five rows of five or with seven rows of seven. The former is the type common in Palestine. I have never seen the latter, nor have I seen the Arabs playing the game. But wartime is not the most favourable in which to observe such things. These, then, we may look upon as comparatively modern, although the series in question was old enough to have one row almost worn away.

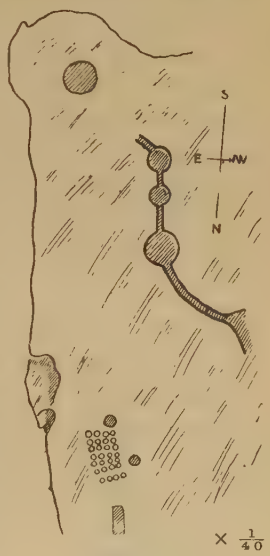


Fig. 5.
Cup-and-groove markings and series of simple cup-markings on a rock near Abu Dîs, Palestine.

On the hill opposite Dahariyeh, and on its southern slope, there is a large cave. The rock which forms its roof has a somewhat similar series of cup-marks which are now almost obliterated. The design differs from the last in having a long side "tail" composed of two rows of cups stretching out from one side of the square. The tail is at least as long as the side of the square, but

the exact number of cups cannot be determined owing to the wearing of the rock. They are about the same size as the last.

Between two and three hundred yards along the Abu Dîs road, after it has branched off from the Bethany road, there is a large olive plantation on the right. In the middle of this, and high up above the road, a stone wall surrounds some fig trees, and in this same enclosure are two engraved rocks. One has a group of cups, this time seven rows of four. The spacing is bad and the rows are very far from being parallel. At one part the cups overlap—this is shown in fig. 5. Two large cups are engraved close to this group, one at the south end and the other to the west side. There are other engravings on the same rock. At its northern extremity is a deep, square-cut notch, and at the extreme south-east corner, a single large cup; but the most interesting carving is a series of three large cups connected by straight channels and draining into a natural depression by a long curved groove. The axis of this series runs north and south. Whether this is accidental or related in some way to the stone altars of Deir Eyûb and Yâlo it is hard to say.

The principal measurements are as follows:—

Isolated cup at south-east corner is 16 cm. in diameter.

First cup of connected group is 10 cm. in diameter; straight groove between first and second cups, 9 cm. in length; second cup, 8 cm. across; second groove, 15 cm. in length; third cup, 17·5 cm. Small cups are 2·5 to 3 cm. in diameter.

Fig. 6.

Cup-and-groove markings on a rock near Abu Dîs, Palestine

The second carved rock lies near the first, and has two cups with associated grooves. At present there is no sign of any connection between the two cups. The illustration (fig. 6) will give a better idea than words can of what they look like. It may be noticed that the long groove in A terminates in a small kind of cup.

The measurements are as follows:—

A. Cup, 26 cm. across and deep, but as it was filled with mud and water and there was no time to clean it out, the depth cannot be given in figures. The short groove from the cup is 11 cm. long

and the long groove 38 cm.; 6 cm. to the left in diagram and 32 cm. to right.

B. Cup, 20 cm.; short straight groove, 10 cm.; curved arms, right 24 cm., left 15 cm. The distance between the nearest points of the two cups is 51 cm.

About halfway along the Abu Dîs road, and on the left side, there is a cave with cup and groove markings on the top of its roof. The design is irregular and therefore there is no sign of orientation. The channels finally drain into a natural cavity to the north-west. This is shown in a figure one-twentieth of the actual size. Near at hand are numerous rectangular and circular reservoirs.

III. Two Curiously Carved Rocks in Southern Palestine.

On the east side of the Dahariyeh–Hebron road there are numerous rock carvings of various types, of which the two following are the best:—

1. Near the 52nd kilometer-stone one rock has a deeply incised design resembling the letter E lying on its back with a broad V beneath it. The rock surface is oblique. The carving is shown in fig. 8.

Length of E is 21 cm.; breadth 8 cm.; width of incision, 3 cm.

Length of each arm of V is 27 cm.; width of incision, 3 cm.

Distance of E to angle of V in vertical line is 13 cm.

Fig. 8. × $\frac{1}{20}$

Rock carving near Dahariyeh, Palestine.

Fig. 9. × $\frac{1}{80}$

Rock carving near Dahariyeh, Palestine.

2. On the same side of the road, but nearer Hebron, there is a rock with a series of large parallel grooves carved deeply into it. These are all rounded at their upper end but terminate abruptly where the rock appears to be broken below. The figure shown (fig. 9)

is from a rough drawing hurriedly made on the spot. It is about one-fortieth actual size.

Lengths of grooves are 107·5 cm., 90·3 cm., 90 cm.

Breadth of grooves is 22 cm.

IV. Note on an Inscribed Stone at Latron.

The interesting stone shown in fig. 10 can be seen over the doorway of one of the native houses in the village of Latron. It is dark grey and quite unlike any other in the village, and even unlike any of the surrounding rocks, which are all light grey limestone.

Fig. 10. × $\frac{1}{10}$

Inscribed Stone over the doorway of a native house at Latron. Drawn from a rough sketch made on the spot and a rubbing taken later.

The five-pointed star and the small quadruped in the right lower quadrant of the circle are the only clear parts of the inscription; most of the writing is illegible. It may have been some kind of charm. The chief difficulty in the way of determining the characters was the inability to alter the position of the light and to obain oblique illumination. Obviously, artificial light could not be used in prominent positions in wartime. A drawing was made on the spot and a rubbing taken. The present illustration is a combination of the two. Prof. Petrie suggests that the inscription begins with Bismillah.

PLAN OF A MIGDOL.

By Joseph Offord, M.R.A.S.

By the courtesy of M. le Ministre de l'Instruction Publique, I have received the description by M. Jean Clédat—who for many years has explored and also followed up all accidental discoveries in the Suez Canal zone and the Eastern Delta—an account of the first discovery of one of the old Egyptian Migdol buildings. This is situated on the frontier between the Bitter Lakes and Suez upon a small plateau, thus commanding a long distance view. It is called by the Arabs Djebel Abou-Hassa, and lies between the Wadis Seyal and Abou-Hassa.

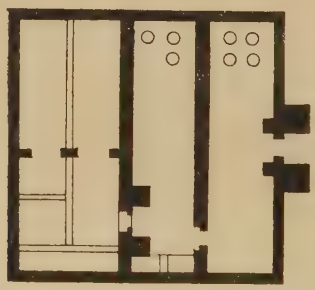
Unfortunately, although sufficient of the edifice remains to enable its plan to be given, it had been destroyed, or allowed to fall into decay, at some time previous to the Roman era, and then rebuilt. Originally the fort had been constructed before the time of Rameses II, because there are remains of earlier reliefs which must have borne the names of previous Pharaohs, beneath those of Rameses and his father Seti, which adorned the innermost of the three chambers into which the tower was divided.

M. Clédat says this edifice certainly is a specimen of one of the Migdol towers or forts in which the nomads of the frontier under Egyptian protection took refuge if menaced by advancing enemies.

It was a square tower surmounted by a crenellated wall, and would have had one or two windows to light its first storey. We know this from the pictures of such a building in the reliefs at Karnak illustrating Seti's campaign against the South Palestine, or Shasu, Syrians. This discovery now presents us with architectural particulars of the interior arrangement of the ground floor of a Migdol, and also of the exterior up to some part of its elevation.

It measured 14 cm. by 80 cm. upon each of its rectangular sides, and was entirely constructed of large blocks, two of which, closely fitted against each other, formed the average thickness of its walls. The size of these stones were not all similar, but the gaps caused by this were filled up with mortar and pieces of stone wedged in.

The door, of 1·15 m. width, was placed in the centre of the eastern wall. Outside to right and left, but fitted close up to this wall on each side of the entrance were two strong square buttresses, something like the pylons of an Egyptian temple. Upon the inner side of the wall were two much smaller supporting square columns or buttresses. No remains indicate the way by which access to the upper story was attained. The ground floor was divided by two walls into three portions, access to the third, or the one farthest from the door, as well as to the second, was by doorways well to the left of the entrance, doubtless to enable the space to the right of the door of the first and second halls to be used as a warehouse, because, sunk into the ground at that end of each hall were found, in one four and in the other three large amphorae for keeping grain.



Further description of this interesting building should not be given until M. Clédat publishes a more complete account, except to say that the inner room was utilised as a shrine for the frontier deities, Sutek (= Bael) and Hathor (= Antar or Astarte).

With the peculiar pertinacity of Egyptian priests to perpetuate any pious symbolism, although this shrine was inside the Migdol tower, its entrance was flanked by two mural pylons to imitate a temple, *en plein aire*, and the hall was divided by three square columns as if it had been a real temple, or intended to copy a mastaba shrine, as though to support the superincumbent soil.

The decorative scenes and hieroglyphic texts were chiefly in the holy hall, and at Ismailiyeh there are over two hundred such from it, which when arranged and pieced together will tell us more of this Migdol which was certainly seen by the Hebrews either from near or afar soon after starting on their wanderings.

To a person unacquainted with old Egyptian and Semitic psychology, it may appear strange that part of a Migdol should form a shrine for two deities. To those early peoples, however, it would be peculiarly appropriate, and the god or goddess selected shows their thoughtful preparation to secure divine protection.

The tower formed the look-out post and at the same time the refuge for the frontier people, some of whom adored Hathor and Horus-Sutek. Others adored the latter as Sutek only, and Hathor as Anta or Anat. Any attack upon this border would probably be made by worshippers of the Semitic doubles of these deities, therefore the occupants of the place put themselves under the care of these duplicate members of the pantheon of both races. But it was an Egyptian "strong tower," and its little garrison would be that country's frontiersmen, so its name was "Pa-Hathor."

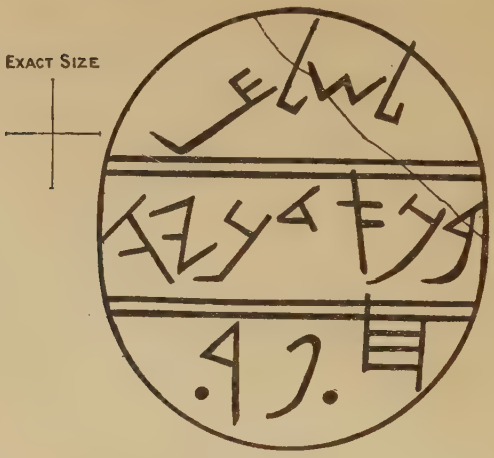
Beneath the floor of the adytum were found two skeletons, probably a proof of the murder, for magical protective purposes, of two unfortunates who took part in the construction of the building. Such a means of preserving a bridge by the burial of a person was performed in Macedonia as late as the twelfth century; see also 1 Kings xvi, 34, and for similar barbarities in Ancient Egypt, Lefébure's *Rites Égyptiens—Construction et Protection des Edifices.*

SIGNET WITH OLD-HEBREW INSCRIPTION.

By E. J. Pilcher.

In the ruins of a house at Jerusalem an ancient seal has recently been discovered, and Signor S. Raffaeli has sent an impression of it for publication in the *Quarterly Statement.* The material of the seal is a hard green stone. It is of the usual scaraboid form, although in this case the face is almost circular. It is about three quarters of an inch long, and a hole is drilled from end to end to contain the rod of metal upon which it revolved when mounted in a finger ring. The face is cracked across one corner.

Unfortunately, the wax impression will not bear photographing, and therefore the following enlarged drawing has been made:—



לשלם	*l'Shalum*	Of Shallum
בן אדניה	*ben Adoni-Yah*	Son of Adonijah
חפר	*Khepher.*	Hepher.

It must be remembered that the above drawing has been made from a wax impression, and the writer has not had the opportunity of seeing the original. Signor Raffaeli, the possessor of the seal, reads it differently, and makes it to be :—

לחלם	*l' Khelem*	Of Helem
בן אדניה	*ben Adoni-Yah*	Son of Adonijah
ו · גר ·	*u · Ger.*	a sojourner.

For Helem, see Zech. vi, 14. This name is usually explained as "Dream." In verse 10, by an apparent scribal error, it is replaced by the enigmatical חלדי Heldai, with which compare 1 Chron. xxvii, 15, and Heled, 1 Chron. xi, 30. On the other hand, 2 Sam. xxiii, 29, would seem to show that all these names are corruptions of חלב Heleb, "fat": plumpness being the oriental standard of beauty. In view of all these considerations it would be very important to possess an inscription actually containing the name of Helem, as it would confirm the Hebrew text of Zechariah.

Signor Raffaeli points out that in these Hebrew seals the theophoric name almost always ends in יהו *Yahu ;* and the termination יה *Yah*, is exceedingly rare. We should therefore expect to find *Adoni-Yahu*, not *Adoni-Yah ;* and, consequently, the first character of the third line should be *Vau* in his opinion.

Furthermore, the two final letters are carefully marked off with points and must be a complete word. פ and ג are very much alike in the Old Hebrew and Phoenician alphabets, and Signor Raffaeli reads גר = "sojourner" or "guest"; his contention being that the owner of the seal was a Jew of the Dispersion who had undertaken the pilgrimage to Jerusalem with the intention of making a temporary stay there, and assisting in the building of the Temple; as in Zech. vi, 15, "They that are afar off shall come and build in the temple of the Lord."

It will thus be seen that Signor Raffaeli's interpretation offers points of the highest interest and importance; and, as he bases his readings upon inspection of the actual gem itself, his views must be put on record. The present writer can only regret that he has merely the wax impression before him. To his eye the impression bears the lettering shown on the above drawing, and he is therefore reluctantly obliged to discuss the inscription independently of Signor Raffaeli.

It will be noted that the inscription is in three registers, divided from one another by double lines. The epigraphy belongs to a somewhat late period in the history of the Jewish alphabet; and calls for little remark, except that, by an oversight of the engraver, the middle bar has been omitted from the *He* at the end of the second line.

The owner was *Shallum*, a name already known.[1]

Adonijah has not previously been observed upon these signets.

The third register, however, offers some problems of its own. As a general rule, we only meet with the name of the owner and his father upon these little relics; but in the present case we have "Shallum the son of Adonijah" followed by the three letters חפר. The first thing that strikes the observer is the two points: one after ח and the other at the end of the line. Such points usually serve as word-dividers in inscriptions, and, accordingly, Signor Raffaeli is inclined to read the last two letters as one word גר *ger*. In the English Bible *ger* is translated "stranger" as in the familiar phrase "thy stranger within thy gates," Exod. xx, 10; though it would be more correct to render it by "guest" or "client." It is not used in Hebrew theophoric proper names; but is fairly frequent

[1] A seal bearing the names לשלם ירמיהו, "of Shallum (son of) Jeremiah," has been published by Prof. Clermont-Ganneau, *Receuil*, IV, 257; *cf.* Lidzbarski's *Ephemeris*, I, 275.—S. A. C.

in Phoenician, where we have *Ger-Melkarth*, *Ger-Sakon*, *Ger-Ashtart*, etc., *i.e.*, Client of Melkarth, Client of Sakon, Client of Astarte, etc. Thus, according to Signor Raffaeli, the seal would be the property of "Helem son of Adonijah, a Client" (or resident alien). In Talmudic Hebrew *ger* means "proselyte," and thus we might say "Adonijah a proselyte" though it may be questioned whether the word had acquired that meaning at the period to which the present signet belongs.

The objection is that the second letter of the third line is more like פ than ג, and Signor Raffaeli's reading does not account for the preceding ח. In fact, we cannot give any satisfactory explanation for this ח if it is to be treated as an independent word; and ח פר would have no ascertainable meaning. Consequently, we seem bound to disregard the two points, and treat the third line as a single word חפר, Khepher, or Kheper.

As a matter of curiosity it may be remarked that Kheper, חפר, is found on the Egyptian monuments as the name of the well-known sacred beetle or scarabaeus. In his *Receuil* I, 167, Prof. Clermont-Ganneau illustrates a seal bearing the figure of a scarabaeus, and the inscription לעבדהדד "of Obed-Hadad." It will also be recalled that a number of jar-handles have been discovered in the various excavations of the Palestine Exploration Fund; and they bear two devices, one being the Persian *ferouher*, as shown on a coin of Datames (*Q.S.*, 1910, p. 79), while the other is an Egyptian scarabaeus; both devices being accompanied by the inscription למלך, *la-Melek* = "of the King" followed by the name of a town. Nevertheless, although the *figure* of a scarabaeus may have conveyed a meaning to the inhabitants of Palestine, it does not follow that the *name* of the Kheper would have been equally intelligible. Moreover חפר is quite capable of a satisfactory Hebrew etymology.

In Hebrew the root חפר signifies to dig, or burrow, or excavate; and the word occurs as a noun in Eccl. x, 8, in the form Hopher = a well-sinker. Besides this, Hepher is found as a name of a place in Josh. xii, 17; and as a proper name in Numb. xxvi, 32. We are thus confronted with the problem whether the third line of our seal is to be taken as a description of the trade or profession of the owner, or his birth-place, or his family (or tribal) name.

If the חפר is to be read as Hopher = "well-sinker" we should expect it to be preceded by the definite article *ha* and read "Shallum son of Adonijah, *the* well-sinker." The ה being absent, we can scarcely accept this explanation.

In the Massoretic text the name חפר is vocalised Hepher; but this was not always the case, for in the Septuagint it is Ὀφέρ. Hepher occurs as a place-name in Josh. xii, 17, and 1 Kings iv, 10. Elsewhere it is Gath-Hepher (LXX, Γεθχοφέρ) mentioned in 2 Kings xiv, 25, as the birth-place of the prophet "Jonah, son of Amittai, who was of Gath-Hepher." If, however, it is to be treated on our seal as a place-name, we should expect it to be preceded by *Mem*, or followed by *Yod*, as in 2 Kings xxiv, 18, "Jeremiah of Libnah," מלבנה *me-Libnah* (literally, from Libnah) or Judges x, 3, "Jair the Gileadite," הגלעדי *ha-Gile'adi*. As, therefore, our seal does not read either "from Hepher" or "the Hepherite," it is doubtful whether we should be justified in taking it as the name of a locality—not to mention that no seal yet known appears to bear any such Gentilic formula.

On the other hand, Hepher figures in the Old Testament as the name of a sept of the Gileadites, and, according to Numb. xxvi, 28–34; xxvii, 1–11; and Josh. xvii, 1–6, the Levirate law arose from the circumstance that the patriarch Hepher had a family of daughters, and no sons to carry on the tribal line. In 1 Chron. xi, 36, a Hepher was one of David's mighty men, although in the parallel passage 2 Sam. xxiii, 24–39, his name has dropped out. We might take the חפר on our seal to be a tribal name, but in that case there is still the difficulty that it ought to end with a *Yod* as in Numb. xxvi, 32, החפרי *ha-Hepheri* = the Hepherite.

All the preceding hypotheses seem unsatisfactory, and there is only one alternative, and that is to assume that the word Hepher is the grandfather of the owner of our seal. It is quite a common feature in these antiquities to omit the word *ben*, "son," between two names; and although the *ben* does occur once in this inscription, and there is plenty of room to have inserted it the second time, yet the best reading we can give is "of Shallum son of Adonijah (son of) Hepher." This affords an intelligible rendering, and does not give rise to any of the difficulties we have found in the other cases.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL NOTES ON JEWISH ANTIQUITIES.

By Joseph Offord, M.R.A.S.

(*Continued from Q.S.* 1919, p. 139.)

LVIII.—*The Semitic Name of Pithom.*

The proof afforded by Prof. Naville's excavations at Tell el-Retabah, near Tell el-Kebir, of the true site of the city of Pithom (Pi Tum = House of Tum), referred to in the story of the Exodus, is quite conclusive. A further light upon the matter deserving of mention because it explains the divergences in some of the versions of Gen. xlvi, 28, is now derivable from an essay by M. Naville, proving that a name which the Egyptians, and, following them, the Greeks and Romans including the Septuagint translators, gave to the town, and which was also used as a title for its presiding city, was of Semitic origin. The name in question is *Arī* (אֲרִי), one of the Hebrew terms for a lion. It is also used in Egyptian, but only in a restricted sense, being used when that animal is under the form of, or supposed to be endowed with, the magic powers of the Sphinx.

The Egyptian equivalents of the Semitic *Ărī* were (or) and . This was also the title of Pithom's tutelary god Atum, who was one of the forms of the newborn Horus, as the rising sun, particularly personified by the well known symbolic Sphinx. The Egyptian pronunciation of the hieroglyphic words just given was transliterated by the Greeks as Ἥρω. They, therefore, by popular etymology, called Pithom Heroopolis, city of Atum, sometimes termed Ἡρῶν, as at a shrine of his at Magdala in the Fayoum. This was the Ero of the Roman Itinery, Ἥρω and Eron of classic geographers, and Ero of the inscriptions published by Naville many years ago.

As mentioned, the *Arī* (), or lioned Sphinx, was in Egyptian imagery symbolic of Horus as Atum the rising sun. This

explains one leonine Sphinx being found, still well preserved, near an entrance to his temple. The text, engraved for a priest of Pithom, says that he was "chief of the house of the lion" (or of the Sphinx), the word may be rendered either way. In the inscription of the obelisk of Hermapion the words *υἱὸς Ἥρωνος* occur, meaning either "son of the lion," "son of the Sphinx," or equivalent to "son of Tum," or Atum. Dr. Gardiner says that by this route we see that "Heropolis would originally have been simply a translation of Pithom." As Egyptian clerics are continually found claiming to be son of their particular deity, the last meaning, doubtless, is the chief one intended. Their scribes however delighted in using such phraseology as could bear several variant significations.

In Gen. xlvi, 28, instead of "Joseph directing his face to and coming to Goshen," the LXX reads *Ἡρώων πόλιν*; whilst a Coptic version has Pithom, and the Sahidic Coptic Heroonpolis. Josephus also gives Heroonpolis. This shows that the LXX, translating Genesis in Egypt, used the proper title for the meeting place of Joseph and Israel, and the first Egyptian Christians in both Coptic versions, also being aware of it, did the same; though why they substituted the other name Pithom for that of Goshen is not clear.[1]

One reason why Atum, when worshipped at a shrine near to the eastern (Asiatic) boundary of Egypt, should assume a semi-Hebrew name is not far to seek. He stood for the sun at dawn springing in splendour into light above the Eastern desert or Sinaitic foot-hills—as seen from Goshen, the region of Pithom—leaping lionlike into view as from behind a rocky crag.[2]

In practice, and also owing to the mentality of these early times, and because of his appearance above it, he was a Syrian object to dwellers in the Delta, and so that country's title for a lion was applied to him. For the populace of Pithom, frequented by Asiatic visitors from Palestine, a most suitable appellation for Atum as the lionid sphinx was a Hebrew Syrian term for the lion. That he was the Sphinx-lion Horus, is proved by many Atum effigies which depict him with a lion's head and plume, and between them is shown the Horus falcon. At Gizeh was reared his famous effigy but with a human head. The mystic creature stands gazing east-

[1] The cause of the erroneous introduction of the letter N into Hero(N)opolis need not, I think, be discussed.

[2] Another figure of the sun was the hare, because it leaps from its form; see Renouf, *Book of the Dead*.

ward to welcome the celestial orb, of which he is a type, at its appearance at dawn. But in addition to the leonine symbolism of force and virility, so applicable to the sun in his power of daily resurrection, the conception of him in the "Wisdom of the Egyptians," also included the idea of regularity and governance of time and celestial order.[1] The perpetually rising Atum, *Ârî*, Horus, was by his action the diurnal timekeeper. By his daily birth throughout all the year at varying orientation points, he was the annual almanac. His "day springings" point from month to month were by him kept in unerring astronomical order.

The Egyptians and the Semites of Pithom, many of whom were for a period Hebrews, were not very strictly differentiated as to their reverence for the lion of Atum. Perhaps Judah formed the majority of the sufferers beneath the taskmasters of *Arî*, at Pithom. His symbol was the lion. No golden calf was ever in Zion's temple, though there was one at Bethel's. But Solomon's throne "had two lions besides its steps," and each of the tribes seem to have claimed this animal as a symbol, for twelve lions ornamented the steps of the throne. Before this throne was erected, Solomon's artificers had made "ten bases of brass ornamented with lions, oxen, and cherubim, and for a time the horses of the sun were stalled at the gate of the temple where these bases stood." Pharaoh's daughter queen may have felt more at home in the Court at Jerusalem than is generally thought. The "Wisdom" acclaimed by her royal spouse "declared *Her* voice," and part of Prof. Naville's essay is concerned with the Sphinx as being sometimes lioness, like Neith, the Wisdom-goddess at Saïs, in the Delta.

LIX.—*Newly-published Palestinian Papyri.*

The readers of the *Quarterly Statement* will desire to possess a preliminary notice of the surprising discovery of a number of letters and documents written in and concerning Palestine early in the third century B.C. These have been found during the unrolling and publication of some hundreds of the more promising of the

[1] Owing to their ignorance of the precise length of the year, to the Egyptians the stars seemed irregular compared with the sun. Had they known it, and thus correctly adjusted their calendar, Sirius would always have risen heliacally on the first of the month Thoth; but it took a period of more than fourteen centuries for their error to be corrected astronomically.

great mass of records which once belonged to a Carian Greek named Zeno, who for many years was a subordinate official of Ptolemy Philadelphus in the Fayoum. His duties, as a sort of administrative surveyor, caused him at various times to be travelling and temporarily residing in all parts of Egypt, and we now also know that, for some two or three years, he was upon some special mission in Palestine.

The first of his papyri to be published were edited by Italian scholars, and under the supervision and erudition of Signor Vitelli. He noticed several names of Palestine cities in deeds and despatches, but knowing that immigrant Jews in Egypt sometimes gave the name of one of the towns in their homeland to a village they had founded, and believing that the whole of Zeno's official career was spent in Egypt, he considered that these titles applied to places in Egypt itself.

Many more of the Zeno papyri are now in the possession of the Cairo Museum, and Mr. Edgar, who has commenced the publication of them in the *Annales du Service*, and has already edited some twenty documents, shows that several of these are from Palestine itself, where for a time Zeno was living.

Two of the most interesting ones concern an Ammonite named Tobias, a name also of another member of that race who was a source of considerable vexation to Nehemiah. Zeno and Tobias were, for a time, joint residents at a place called Birta, in Ammonitis. This, it will be remembered, is also the title for the fort mentioned in the Elephantine papyri; it is, in fact, the Aramaic word for a fort or citadel. It may be a name for some other community clustering around some castle east of the Jordan.

The most complete of the Palestine papyri concerns the buying of a female slave by Zeno for the moderate sum of twenty drachmae. Tobias is one party in this transaction. Tobias must have been a man of means, because the letters prove that a certain Appolonius, a very high official at Alexandria who was Zeno's superior officer, suggested to him to make a gift to the king, and Tobias did as he was advised. Tobias was sufficiently important to write to Ptolemy himself, and his letter is preserved. The present took the form of a number of selected animals, including several specimens of the results of cross-breeding. These would be peculiarly appropriate as an offering, because the classics reported that this king was particularly interested in strange animals.

Another Palestinian piece gives an account of an attempt to recover a debt from a Jew there; the Greeks, so far as the papyrus discloses, came off second best in the dispute, their application for redress being received with contumely and blows. There is also a long text, a sort of bill of lading, for the dispatch of a cargo of flour from Palestine to Egypt, a trade which we know, from other sources, was very flourishing at this era. Number 14 of the letters given by Mr. Edgar is from a certain Herakleitos to Zeno, and came from Syria, probably from Sidon, which is mentioned in its text.

These notes are only intended to indicate of what value this correspondence is likely to prove now that it appears that several of the papyri edited by Signor Vitelli have to be assigned to a Palestinian series, and not to the Fayoum. A reconsideration of them will doubless produce facts of interest, but quantities of the records have not yet been carefully scrutinised, and fresh facts concerning Syria may come to light at any time.

The value of a literary discovery of this character, reproducing the vocabulary and style of an educated Graeco-Egyptian writer, almost contemporary with the composition of the Septuagint Version, need only be mentioned. It will probably as much augment our knowledge of the verbal basis of that work as the Graeco-Roman papyri have done for the wording of the New Testament.

The number of unpublished papyri is now so great that their study has become a science by itself, and it would be a wise step to secure the co-operation of the scholars who are devoting themselves to it in producing a "Journal of Papyrology" for articles and notes by French, British, Italian, and United States writers. Hitherto the only work of the kind has been a German periodical.

Mr. HIORTH'S SCHEME FOR THE RESTORATION OF PALESTINE.

Mr. Albert Hiorth, C.E., a Carnegie Scholar of the Iron and Steel Institute, has written to us complaining that we did not give sufficiently serious consideration to his pamphlet "Concerning the Colonisation of Palestine" (*Q.S.*, April, 1919, p. 91 *seq.*). He informs us that the late Sir William Crookes wrote (Sept. 27th, 1913)

approving of his idea: "The idea seems to be a thoroughly feasible one and I will not fail to mention it to any of my friends to whom I think it will appeal." He states that his plan was submitted in 1913 to some of the best experts in Europe, and forwards a copy of *Teknisk Ukeblad* (May 9th, 1919), "Norway's greatest technical (engineering) paper," containing his address, with many illustrations, to the Polytechnic Society on the subject. A covering letter states that Mr. Hiorth's plan was sympathetically referred to in the engineering notes of the *Daily Telegraph*, July 30th.

Mr. Hiorth sends us his pamphlet *Palestine Restored* (Hodder and Stoughton, 6*d*.) which repeats in substance the earlier pamphlet, and we consider under the circumstances we do him full justice if we give a fuller objective account of it with extracts, and leave his proposals to the judgment of our readers.

After describing the soil of Palestine as being "of the very best," Mr. Hiorth points out that what is lacking is water. The total rainfall is not small but it is very unfavourably distributed. "The reason for this has been mainly attributed to the deforestation of Lebanon and other forest districts," see 1 Kings v, 15, 16. The only possibility for a new agriculture lies in an efficient irrigation, and the author's idea "does not claim to be either new or original, as Ezekiel and Zechariah, more than twenty centuries ago, sketched out the complete plan in its main features."

"The present plan proposes a tunnel of about 65 km. (roughly speaking, 40 miles), running east-west from the Mediterranean to the Dead Sea, passing under Jerusalem. This tunnel would carry the water from the Mediterranean to the western slopes of the lower end of the Jordan Valley. (See Ezek. xlvii, 1, 2, 8; Zech. xiv, 4.) From this point the water would be directed through pipes down to the level of the Dead Sea, where a power plant with turbo-electric machinery would transmit the water-power into electricity, to be distributed as light and power throughout the country, and drive a pumping plant at the southern end of the Lake of Genezareth. . . .

"Preliminary estimates show that tens of thousands of horse-power may be developed in this way, throughout the year, by a tunnel of, for instance, 15 m. (= 135 square feet), carrying 20 tons of water per second. The rise of the Dead Sea level caused by this would not be more than a fraction of a metre per year. The surface of the Dead Sea, which is now about 11,000 km. (= 4,000 square miles), would be allowed to increase as much as the increased

evaporation (see Ezek. xlvii, 10), viz., up to about 13,000 km. (= 4,800 square miles), an increase corresponding to one-fifth of the recent area. With an efficient head of not more than 200 m. (= 656 feet) the plant would produce more than 40,000 H.P."

Mr. Hiorth points out that this power would be utilized in various different ways which he specifies (plant, works, fish nurseries, etc., etc.), and estimates the cost of the tunnelling at nearly £8,000,000.

"To this amount should be added the cost of the power-plant, the factories, canals, and other works for the irrigation and the salt works. The interest on and the amortisation of a capital of about £12,000,000 must be divided amongst all these concerns. If the technical works (saltpetre, salt, distribution of electric power, etc.) are charged with one half of this amount, and the other half be charged to the forestry, the agriculture, and the horticulture, a rough estimate, founded on the very insufficient data that are as yet available, would show that this plan does not compare at all unfavourably with the irrigation-works constructed in Asia and America during the last decade."

It may be added that the *Aberdeen Free Press* (Aug. 4th) in a review of the pamphlet, states: "It is a fresh and arresting scheme. The capital required is large, but the Jewish community throughout the world could, if it were so minded, put up the sum mentioned with ease. Whether or not this particular project is feasible is a technical question."

We agree with the last sentence. The subject is not one which the *Quarterly Statement* can discuss. The reviewer of the earlier pamphlet sees no reason for modifying his verdict on the scheme, the merits of which can now be estimated by others.

KEDESH-NAPHTALI AND TAANACH:
A THEORY AND SOME COMMENTS.

By Stanley A. Cook, M.A.

Prof. Julian Morgenstein, of the Hebrew Union College, U.S.A., discusses in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, January and April, 1919, the question of Kedesh-Naphtali and Taanach in Judges

chaps. iv and v. He argues against the not uncommon view that the two chapters really refer to one battle, and draws attention to several important differences between them. Moreover, he states that chap. iv is quite confused in its account of the actual site of the battle. One version places it at Kedesh-Naphtali, and this is in agreement with Josh. chap. xi, whereas another locates the battle on the banks of the Kishon, just below Mount Tabor, and this is evidently an attempt to harmonize the account of the battle of Taanach, Judg. chap. v, with the battle of Kedesh-Naphtali of Judg. chap. iv and Josh. chap. xi, and to make them appear as one battle. Prof. Morgenstein further notes certain geographical inconsistencies, which suggest that the author, or authors, of this attempt were none too well acquainted with the topography of the Kishon Valley.

His view that Judg. chap. iv is a composite narrative is confirmed, he thinks, by the lists of the tribes who did and who did not participate in the battle. These lists become entirely explicable if we consider the geographical distribution of the tribes and the nature of the threat. He reaches the conclusion that in ancient Israel there were two confederations, each consisting of three contiguous tribes, one north of the Kishon Valley and one in Central Palestine. These groups had been separated by the Kishon Valley, which was in possession of the powerful Canaanite city-states situated there, and a common danger impelled the groups to unite.

> "Had the Canaanites gained the victory instead of Israel, it is impossible to even imagine what the results might have been. Certainly Judaism would never have evolved; and, without Judaism and its daughter religions, Christianity and Islam, the history of mankind would have been vastly different. Truly civilization was hanging in the balance at this moment, and the battle of Taanach may well be regarded as one of the most decisive battles of history."

Prof. Morgenstein points out that, in David's time, the southern federation of Israelite states was cut off from free relations with the northern groups by Canaanite possession of a stretch of land extending from Jerusalem on the east to Gezer on the west. David's conquest of Jerusalem and of the Philistines led to the formation of the nation of Israel. Once more a common interest and a common danger from a common enemy united two federated groups of tribes.

He considers that the battle of Kedesh-Naphtali preceded that of Taanach, though by how long it is impossible to determine. Nor can one determine who led the Israelites against Jabïn, except that he must have been a member of the tribe of Zebulun or Naphtali. At all events, the battle broke the power of the Canaanite city-states in the Galilean highlands and permanently established those two tribes. Similarly the victory at Taanach broke the Canaanite power in the valley of the Kishon. The capture of Jerusalem by David caused the greater part of the southern Canaanite strip to pass into Israelite hands, although Gezer, on the western edge, held out until the reign of Solomon (1 Kings ix, 15). Shechem and Gibeon, other Canaanite strongholds, were apparently absorbed gradually in Israel (Josh. chap. ix, Judg. chap. ix, 1 Sam. chap. xxi). "In this way, it would seem, the greater part of Canaan passed finally into Israelite possession."

Prof. Morgenstein's discussion is a good example of the way in which a closer study of Palestinian topography contributes to the Biblical narratives, in this particular instance, by bringing to light a number of topographical difficulties and inconsistencies which admit of an explanation if we may assume that there has been some combination of distinct narratives or versions, such as we often find in Oriental literature outside the Bible. Prof. Morgenstein's theory is a development of one that is already familiar in the works of Profs. G. F. Moore, G. A. Cooke, F. C. Burney, and others; and it is of special interest on account of the way in which he associates a Canaanite enclave separating the central from the northern tribes with the similar one which severed the southern tribes from the central. This point demands further consideration.

The Biblical *facts* are such, that from Judg. chap. i, and other references, we are entitled to assume that two lines of Canaanite places separated the central tribes from those lying to the north and the south respectively. Unambiguous references in the Books of Samuel force the view that Jerusalem and its district did not become Israelite until the time of David; but when the northern Canaanite enclave became Israelite, is already discussed by Prof. Morgenstein. On the other hand, the account of the "northern campaign" in Josh. chap. xi, together with the general tenor of the Book of Joshua, would allow no room for the northern enclave; and, in like manner, the "southern campaign" in Josh.

chap. x, together with the tenor of the book and the relations between Judah and Benjamin in 1 Samuel, appear to make a southern enclave out of the question.

Much ingenuity has been expended in the attempt to weave all the difficult and conflicting details into some more or less consecutive history, but with no result that can be accepted. Indeed, it has to be recognised candidly that our history-books, which endeavour to present the reader with some fairly intelligible and simple account—whether the books are what are called "conservative," "moderate," or "radical"—succeed in this only by obscuring some of the difficulties, by selecting, on various grounds, what appear to be the most "historical" or "authentic" details, and by rejecting all that conflict with them. The synthesis is incomplete because of these omissions which it does not explain, and yet it is impossible to see how all the data can be accepted.

The students or ordinary readers who accept the Old Testament, as it stands, with its apparently plain historical views and religious thread, are perfectly right in insisting upon that unity which the work of criticism destroys. On the other hand, the work of analysis and of penetrating criticism—whether it be literary, historical, textual, psychological, etc.—is in every way legitimate and indispensable. The misfortune is that no complete comprehensive or synthetic view has been presented which commands the general assent of all concerned. The work of "criticism" usually does not bring out the religious and immediate value of the Old Testament in a way that appeals to ordinary readers, and to those who take the Book as a whole; but the latter, in their turn, usually ignore the thousand and one details of greater or less importance which are vital for any closer understanding of the Book from a more scholarly or critical point of view.

Clearly the task is not to agree to this existing schism between the religious and intellectual aspects; the more the religious and other aspects are kept severed and run their own different ways, the more is each likely to suffer. Harmony between them means a harmony between the individual's own religious and other conceptions, and the more this harmony is a natural one, doing justice to all the religious needs of men, the better is it for men's whole personality, and therefore for research itself. In other words a method of Biblical study that would answer the direct personal needs—the religious and all the various intellectual needs—would be

of enormous importance, inasmuch as it would involve a harmonising of religious and non-religious points of view.

Not only do we need this harmony—it is as necessary for life as it is for the future of thought—but actual political conditions are bringing in a new stage in the lengthy history of Bible-lands. Not to speak of Zionism and the establishment of a Hebrew University in Jerusalem; it is easy to see, on a little reflection, how questions of Palestine and of the Bible can at once become more real and living than before. Men of Western education have been, and will be, brought more into touch with Biblical topography, history, antiquities, and so forth. Is it not easy to imagine, for example, how an intelligent reader, with the Book of Judges before him, could discover for himself the difficulties which have confronted the stay-at-home students of the past? Is it not easy, also, to realise how, at the same time, men will be struck by the similarity of local colour, custom, topographical factors, and so on? In this way one can readily perceive how there may be two contending tendencies—the one to see merely error, the other to see nothing but truth, so that the Bible as a whole will be at once "proved" entirely unhistorical or triumphantly confirmed, as the case may be, unless there is a more reasoned view of its many-sidedness.

It is on these grounds, therefore, that we may realize how the new stage in the history of the Holy Land, due to the war and its sequel, may be full of meaning for the future study of the Bible. It may force a new stage in the study itself: it is at least perfectly true that important developments in this direction had already been showing themselves. But this is not the place to enlarge upon what those developments might or should be. There is however just one point which, as it arises out of Prof. Morgenstein's article, may be appropriately mentioned.

A large section of the internal difficulties in the Old Testament can be ascribed, not merely to "composition," to a combination of different narratives or versions, but to distinct historical perspectives. We already know that Israelites and Canaanites intermingled, and we can imagine how Israelites could take over Canaanite traditions and myths. But wherever there were cases of intermingling later in the history, there was always the possibility that traditions of the past would be transferred from one section of the people to the other. When the northern tribes went into captivity and the Samaritans took their place, the latter often claimed to be descen-

dants of the Joseph tribes, and would regard their traditions as their own, and they identified themselves with the history of their new home.

Again, when the Jews returned from exile, they found many of their brethren whose forefathers had always remained in the land; obviously, the latter would have a view of the past very different from that of those who returned. The northern and southern kingdoms were often at enmity; needless to say, this would affect the ideas each had of the other, and the way each regarded the other's history. So, not to pursue this further, if we consider the Biblical facts themselves touching the vicissitudes of the people, we shall be prepared to understand how different tribes or sections might have different groups of traditions, versions or historical perspectives, so that there may be cases where two versions conflict, but really represent rival statements or different *bonâ fide* recollections of the same events, or different and genuine outlooks upon the past.

It is not now argued that this will explain the particular difficulties in Judg. chaps. iv and v, but it is suggested that, by further attention to the points of view, the interests, colour, and general tendencies of the narratives, we can often find a natural way of understanding difficulties and inconsistencies, and we shall be employing a method the nature of which is self-evident if we consider how, at the present age, there are often different, if not conflicting versions, of the same events, or rival or conflicting attitudes to the same situation.

As already mentioned, there are prospects of the Holy Land becoming even better known to men of West European education and training. There may be greater opportunities of new and more intensive researches above and below ground; it seems appropriate, therefore, to call attention to what may seem in certain cases to explain inconsistencies or contradictions which cannot otherwise be resolved.

TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARABIC CONSONANTS.

HEBREW.

Hebrew.	English.	Hebrew.	English.
א	’	כ ך	kh
ב	b	ל	l
ב	bh	מ ם	m
ג	g	נ ן	n
ג	gh	ס	s
ד	d	ע	‘
ד	dh	פ	p
ה	h	פ	f
ו	v, w	צ ץ	z
ז	z	ק	k
ח	h	ר	r
ט	t	ש	sh
י	y	ש	s
כ ך	k	ת	t
		ת	th

ARABIC.

Arabic.	English.		Arabic.	English.
ا	’		ض	d
ب	b		ط	t
ت	t		ظ	tz
ث	th		ع	‘
ج	g	or j in Syrian Arabic.	غ	gh
ح	h		ف	f
خ	kh		ق	k
د	d		ك	k
ذ	dh		ل	l
ر	r		م	m
ز	z		ن	n
س	s		ه	h
ش	sh		و	w
ص	z		ي	y

Long vowels marked thus :—ā, ē, ī, ō, ū.